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MISSIONARY MOTIVES

Motive in the missionary is correlated with purpose in the mission. Analysis of possible purposes and motives may help us to improvement.

The only inadmissible purpose I have ever heard stated for the Christian mission is to bear witness among the heathen, so that, if they do not heed and believe, it will not be our fault, and our skirts will be clear in the judgment. This is obviously wrong, because its spirit is pessimistic and vindictive, so its tone cannot be persuasive. Such is Christ's nature that truthful witness cannot be borne for him save in a hopeful mood and with eager intent to persuade.

Other ways of stating the mission purpose are:

First, to make converts to Christ.

Second, to build up the Church in all the world.

Third, to extend Christ's influence by pervading non-Christian societies with his standard of right and wrong. That standard is love, in the sense of active good will. Love in this sense combines justice, which is fair dealing even to our own loss, with mercy, which is protection and care for the weak by the strong.

That is, I think, a better way of putting the point which bears upon social righteousness than to speak of building the Kingdom of God, or bringing it in. Though the apocalyptic strain in the New Testament may be susceptible of other interpretations, yet the second petition in the Lord's Prayer certainly sanctions the hope, at least, that there is actually to be a Kingdom of God on earth and in time. But in that event it will surely be God's Kingdom. It is He who will build it or bring it in. To mankind of that generation it will come as a divine surprise, emergent from

processes which did not recognizably predict it, though in retrospect they may evidently contain its causes. We must avoid pretentiousness. We cannot build the kingdom, for we do not know the plan. All we can do is to work for world betterment under the limitations now manifest, which only God can transcend. It is conceivable that through human agency there might be enduring peace in fruitful cooperation of all peoples within one world order, political and economic. That would clean up the earth as a guest-chamber for the Glory of God, when it shall be revealed. But even so much or so little as that cannot be achieved save after worldwide acceptance of our Lord's ethic.

It must be noted that social acceptance does not involve individual obedience. When one pattern of conscience has become reflex in a society, including even its criminals and sinners, so that in offending they recognize their guilt, that suffices to establish the type of a society; that is, its norm is fixed.

Fourth, to do the works of Christ in teaching and healing and all kindred practical courses of helpful action, for people who need them, just because they need them, without demanding anything of them but that they shall accept our services and let us be their friends. Of course this demands exquisite courtesy on our part, and a complete accessibility to all things good, true and beautiful which we may find among these new friends of ours. Our willingness to take is the measure of our right to give.

Now those four purposes sound very different. We may label them respectively evangelistic, ecclesiastical, sociological, and humanitarian. But actually they are complementary and interpenetrating. Any one of them implies all the others. For instance, if we begin with the humanitarian, yet for their own good people need conversion,—that is, a new life, a better life that works from the heart outward,—as much as they need food or medicine. They cannot grow up in this new life, however, without as it were a family environment for their nurture in it. And that means the Church. But no Church can collectively live the new life

without setting a contagious example. This yields a pervasive influence of Christian ethics. So the other three purposes are implied in the fourth, taken at first alone. And it works out the same way, starting from any other point within this tetralogy.

Assuming, then, that we are agreed on this fourfold purpose of the Christian mission, what will be the personal motive of the foreign missionary? Though with some diffidence, I claim the right to speak. For to serve Christ abroad was my own aim in my youth. It had to be renounced for the sake of my parents, who needed me at home. But I have never lost sight of it; and I trust mine has always been a missionary spirit in ministry to the American Church. Suppose, then, we survey the elements of missionary motive seriatim, beginning with the least creditable aims that can be advanced by or for missionaries.

First, some say that people become missionaries because they can find no better way to make a living. That is in general as untrue as it is unfriendly. Any missionary worth his salt could make more money at home. Yet the pitiful animadversions of some angry nationals in mission fields indicate that this is a misunderstanding which missionaries must be at pains to obviate by consistent and extraordinary considerateness in their bearing on the field.

Second, and more plausibly, it is suggested that this is the best way our representatives abroad have been able to find for making an easy living. As casual travellers with animus against religion like to remind us, there are plenty of servants in backward countries, even for Europeans with small incomes. The critics who allege this, after a brief call at some mission station, with no survey of living conditions or the projects in hand and the time-schedule they require of the missionary and his household, ought to stay awhile and look deeper.

Third, we are told that to enter the mission ranks is a good way to ensure an interesting life, including foreign travel. This consideration, I believe, does really enter in, or missionaries would be content to serve the Church at home.

The missionary is a man impatient of the bounds set by his original circumstances upon his imagination and experience. He craves the personal growth inherent in adjustment to alien situations. That is a noble human trait. It betokens the large mind, which refuses to be homesick anywhere in God's world. It is the essential urge of pioneering, by which the way is opened for world intercommunication and advance.

Fourth, we would all admit that we go to far lands out of fraternal compassion for the underprivileged. What we have we hold in trust, to share. Compassion of course, like sympathy, does not properly mean anything so condescending as pity, but rather fellow feeling. It denotes the quality and capacity of entering into others' needs from their point of view. That is what is implied in the Golden Rule: I am not to do to another what I should want if it were I who was in his place, but what I should want if I were in his place and were he.

So sharing what we have with those who lack it is the most vital of missionary motives. But now we must ask what it is that we have to share. Here we must seek the mean between two extremes.

At one extreme, we may say that we have a creed which others must accept, or else they will be damned in the next life. That is intellectual imperialism,—another term for bigotry. For a creed is a construct of words designed to convey ideas purporting to describe spiritual life, and to prescribe the conditions for it. Insistence upon one creed is unrealistic; for spiritual life often flourishes independently of any given creed. It is arrogant; for our ideas, taken as exhaustive description of ineffable reality, are as apt to be wrong or inadequate as anyone else's. And it is blasphemous; for it pretends to do God's judging for Him. Granted that "there is no other Name given under heaven whereby we must be saved," we must be mindful that the Hebraic connotation of "name" is the power of the person named, rather than merely an identifying designation. Who are we to set limits for the exercise of that Power which is in Christ,

and to the efficacy of his Cross, seen as a cosmic transaction of which Calvary is but the time-symbol? We are sure of God's covenanted mercies. Has He no mercies beyond the covenant? Has His covenant no content beyond the words in which it is couched for us?

At the other extreme, we may say that we have the benefits of advanced civilization,—critical learning, scientific medicine and surgery, advanced agricultural and economic techniques,—of which our brothers beyond the pale of Western civilization stand in need. This may start as simple and innocent humanitarianism, admirable as far as it goes—though it deals with the outside of life, not with its springs within. "This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone." But it readily shades over into cultural imperialism, uprooting peoples from their own folkways, and preparing them for victimization by economic and political imperialism at the hands of less altruistic people from the same lands that sent out the missionaries. In overconfidence of what we have to offer materially, this motive fails of proper respect for the rights of all peoples to advance harmoniously from within their own traditional behaviour patterns.

At the mean between these extremes, we shall say that we have an experience of newness of life, re-creative of self-respect; bringing us an infusion of power to achieve ideals, instead of just wistfully regarding them from afar; and supplying a dynamic urge toward devising more intelligent and effectual techniques, in the common interest, for living in this world. We do not pre-judge any creed or any social tradition. We know people who endorse our creed and observe our tradition, yet have not this life. Also, and surprisingly, we have found some people who had this life, yet held other creeds. It is the new life itself which we would share. For us at least it centers in complete devotion to Jesus of Nazareth, the ever-living Christ, because in him we have recognized what God must be like. So it is our simple duty and joy to make Jesus Christ known to as many as we

can who do not know him as he is, in confidence that, if they accept him, he will work the same wonder in them.

But to make him known we cannot trust to words alone. For words mean different things to different people. And often it is hard to find the right words in a strange vernacular. Even the Gospels in a good translation may at first be puzzling rather than enlightening to minds unprepared for their special atmosphere. So we have to illustrate Christ and define our terms through actions expressive of his spirit. Like him we will help all and sundry in every way we can. As when he was on earth, some of them will be won for him all the way. The rest will at least have been helped a little. That is so much gained,—an effort not thrown away, but fruitful in some measure. We cannot begrudge it. But we are always hoping for more.

Thus our basic motive is to share the new life that has come to us in Christ Jesus. But there is one thing more to be added. The gospel is good news, and so is this new life. Good news cannot be bottled up. We have to bubble over with it. So our deepest urge in Christ's behalf is enthusiasm to publish his glad tidings, because it would stifle us to keep them to ourselves.

If this be a true account of missionary motivation, then it behooves us before all specialized study and preparation for our tasks to look to our spiritual life, and keep it fresh and vivid. By itself this will hardly suffice. We need anthropology and field cultural analysis and language and all the rest. But these will be of little avail unless our hearts are right. And if our hearts are right,—if Christ lives in us, the hope of glory,—then he will be our incentive to improve our competence in every possible way, that by all means we may save some—not from hell hereafter, which is God's concern; but into newness of life, out of hell into heaven, out of darkness and despair into light and hope, in this world.

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THE FLUTE-PLAYER OF ANKARA

The great moon, soaring up from the Asian hills, had begun to make a broad path of glory across the restless Bosphorus. It was a perfect evening for the music which had gathered a dozen of us in the large, comfortably furnished home of an American friend. The music to which we were listening was that of the "ney," or oriental flute, played by a Turkish friend who is on the staff of the Ankara broadcasting station. We heard the lively, high-pitched notes of the short *nisfiye*, the richer alto of the *ney*, and the deeply-moving baritone of the *shah*. Despite the oriental idiom, even the most unconvinced Westerner among us had felt this music lay its spell on his emotions.

But other things than music were in store. When the music had established a bond of sympathy between the player and his foreign audience, our host turned to him with a leading question.

"Now, while our hearts are uplifted with the beauties of moonlight and music, would you tell us something about yourself? We of the West know something of conversion, by which a man is turned away from vanity back to God. For perhaps each one of us here present, this has been a living experience, by which through faith in Jesus the Messiah, the grace of God has come into our lives with forgiveness and re-direction. We think also of conversion with regard to non-Christians who, becoming convinced of the truth of Christianity, enter upon the Christian way of belief and life. But few of us, even of those who are most friendly with Muslims, know of conversion as a purely Muslim spiritual experience. You declare that once you were a godless, hard-drinking wrestler, while we know you as a man who daily plays his flute to the glory of God. How was the change worked? How did the mercy of God reach out and lay hold of you? If you could tell us this, these friends might not only understand the East better, but might also see better how God works with his children."

Eagerly the flute-player complied, and later he wrote down his experiences. A translation of his paper follows.

IN THE NAME OF GOD

I am the Muslim son of a Muslim father. This father was born in Mecca, whither my grandfather had been sent as a government official. When the family returned to Istanbul, my father, then nine years of age, was both a "Haji" and a "Hafiz," that is, he could recite the entire Qur'an from memory. At the time of my father's death, I was four years old.

Ours was a godly family, obedient to the commandments of God and to the instructions of Muhammad. So, from my earliest years, they took pains to equip me with the essentials of the faith, and as my age advanced, so did my religious instruction. When I reached adolescence, my understanding of the commandments, duties and responsibilities of my religion could be described as faultless, while my conduct fell nothing short of my understanding.

As I approached the age of seventeen, this structure of faith and obedience began to fall away, and very soon nothing whatever was left. For an admired gymnastics teacher who was a materialist, and a few books on Materialism and Power had brought about a complete collapse of belief. With the passion of one who has discovered a new and limitless field of knowledge, I seized on and read the works of any materialist whose fame reached me. I not only accepted as absolute truth whatever I read, but with the excitement of complete faith I proclaimed these discoveries, and strove to persuade all who would listen. More, I made insolent attacks on their faith—may God forgive me! Thus many years went by.

I came to have limitless confidence in my own intelligence, my judgment and physical strength. I believed that an energetic, ready man who was awake to his own interests need never lack for work or bread. Those who did lack seemed to me the misfits, the weaklings. Thus I denied that God apportions to each his lot and sustenance. And God

left me long in this valley of error, while heaping on me bounty upon bounty. But at last the day of my decreed punishment overtook me.

Like an arrow out of the sky, a false accusation was aimed at me and I was brought to court. The charge was such that the law gave no option, and I was kept under arrest throughout the proceedings. So I found myself in prison. I was talking with some of the inmates of this nest of anguish as night fell. Suddenly the electric lights were turned on from a central switch, at which signal all the prisoners bowed their heads and repeated together, "Do Thou deliver!" Their mournful cry added to the day's events had so shaken my spirit that I felt compelled to bow my own head and repeat shamefacedly, "Do Thou deliver!"

Praise be to God, this was the turning point from which I again began to face Godwards. I began often to spread my hands to God in appeal, and to ask for his forgiveness, mercy and salvation. After exactly fifty days in this nest of sorrow and suffering I was set at liberty. Three dreams, which visited me with extraordinary vividness and meaning, came to me during my imprisonment . . .

(NOTE—Here the narrator's detailed account of his three dreams has been greatly compressed, to meet the taste of readers who do not share his belief that dreams foretell the future and are an indication of special Divine favour. But it should not be forgotten that in the East, dreams so often play an important part in conversion that they may be considered almost as normal to that experience.

In the first of his dreams he found himself cowering on the collapsing edge of a great well, across which a camel stretched his long neck to bite him. In the end, the camel fell to his death in the well. This dream was fulfilled two months later, when the inspector who had laid the false accusation was himself caught in the act of committing a felony, and was summarily dismissed from the service.

In the second dream, which happened on the 25th day, he found himself caught by the hips as he tried to escape through a narrow opening in the imprisoning stone walls. The subsequent interpretation was that this was the exact half-way of his fifty-day imprisonment.

In the third, which came on the night before his final defense

and the court's verdict, his dead mother and sister took him each by the wrist, and led him barefoot through thorns and brushwood till he stood on the sea sands. Floating on the sea near the horizon appeared a great mosque with four minarets, which could be no other than Aya Sofia. To this his mother pointed, saying, "My son, say your first Friday prayer in that mosque." On this he awoke and found that it was just three o'clock. Till day came, he lay there weeping with emotion, and pouring out his prayers for deliverance.)

. . . That same morning, a messenger was sent to me by the first train from the Goztepe suburb of Istanbul. The letter he brought read, "Young man, you are saved. Tonight one of the saints has appeared to me, saying, 'Before he enters the court room, let him vow to make his first Friday prayer in the Aya Sofia mosque.' These words foretell your deliverance."

Excited by my critical position and by these messages, I was standing under guard in the corridor, waiting for the court to open. Before I could make my prayer and vow, one of my associates in the Government service, himself a Bektashi dervish, came and seized my hand in both his, crying, "Congratulations! I hurried here to see you."

"Why did you trouble?" I said. "Pray that I may soon be released and can rejoin you."

"My friend," he replied, "I come with good news. Last night one of the holy ones appeared in my dream. He gave instructions that before entering the court you should recite three *Ihlasi Sherife* and one *Fatiha*, devoting these to our Prophet (on whom be peace). You should also not fail to make your first Friday prayer in the mosque of Aya Sofia."

At this third repetition of the message, my self-control broke down. Trembling seized my limbs and shudders my spine. Emotion choked me and my tears flowed fast. Amid sobs I recited the passages in a loud voice and made my vows. Scarcely had I finished when the court crier called my name. As I entered the court, an extraordinary peace and assurance flowed into my breast. Not long afterwards I heard the judges pronouncing my acquittal. Praise be to God!

It was the first Friday. Long before the hour, I had entered the mosque, where, as yet, few worshippers had

gathered. "It is early yet," I thought, "here in this solitary corner I will perform two *riq'at* (cycles of prayer) for the favour of God. I stood to the prayer and recited the Fatiha and the Ihlas. Then I bowed in the next movement of the prayer. But what should I repeat now? Strain as I would, the unaccustomed words escaped me. At last, in shame, I fell on my face, but here also I had forgotten the ritual words. Overwhelmed with shame and repentance, I could not raise my head, but wept and wept till my spirit was spent. Humbly I crept out of that house of worship, and at once bought a prayer guide, and began again to memorize the forgotten prayers and passages of the Qur'an.

A few months passed. One day in the street, a strong hand fell on my shoulder, and a familiar voice cried, "Where have you been? I have long been looking for you, for you are my soul's torment. Yes, stare at me, the man who turned you into a godless unbeliever and then abandoned you. Where do you live? We must soon have a long talk. But let me say this much now: In the West there is not a single man of learning who does not acknowledge God."

These excited words were spoken by my gymnastics teacher of twenty years ago. He had later gone to Europe and studied literature, psychology, sociology and philosophy. He came to my home and preached me a four-hour sermon, to which I listened with pleasure and with an enlarging of the spirit, even though the mystical expressions which I heard from his mouth for the first time in my life, were quite meaningless to me.

Two years later, these words to which I had listened uncomprehendingly began to be realized in my own life. I had kissed the hand and laid hold of the skirt of one of God's beloved and perfect enlighteners (*murshid*), and was walking in the way of God. God be praised! Now I play the *ney*, God's gracious gift and very great favour to me, solely for its great Owner's glory. Thus I live immersed deep in the joy and peace of a limitless world of the spirit. God be praised!"

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ISLAM IN INDIA, 1947.

In the political developments that reached a crisis in 1947 lines of demarcation have been drawn and India has been divided. Pakistan includes in its western area Western Punjab, Sind, and the North West Frontier Province, and in its far-flung eastern area, to which it has no corridor of approach, are Western Bengal and the district of Sylhet (Assam). The late Sir Muhammad Iqbal had conceived the idea of a "Muslim India within India," and to this extent a recognized *dar al-Islam* has been achieved through the unyielding efforts of the outstanding Muslim leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

On the day of the declaration of India's independence, August 15, 1947, there was widespread rejoicing, but in the hearts of millions of people of all communal groups there was something in this rejoicing that was restrained and fearful. There was no feeling of assurance that there could be stability of government and economic progress in a dis-united India.

However, the Haidarabad journal, *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1947, commented: "Pakistan was Dr. Iqbal's dream. It is now a stark reality. He visualized that a consolidated Muslim state would serve the best interests of India as well as Islam. For India it would mean security and peace resulting from internal balance of power. For Islam it would be an opportunity to mobilize its law, its education, its culture; and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times."

For the Muslims in India the issue had been stated and explained frequently in the last few years, but we were not sure that the *pros* and *cons* were being freely and openly discussed. Meetings that were held under the auspices of the Muslim League were for the advocacy of a slogan,—the necessity of Pakistan on the two nation theory. As early as 1941 we were told that "a small section among the Muslim politicians sincerely believe in the necessity of the Indian peoples remaining united. They cherish the vision of a

united India coming to the forefront in world politics because of her immense population and almost inexhaustible natural resources. They support the Congress policy, not because they are in sympathy with the imperialistic aim of the Bania majority which dominates it, but because it is the largest political organization in India and its avowed aims are unity and freedom for India." The same writer then expresses his personal opinion that "these politicians are no doubt working in an admirable spirit, although their ideal of a united India is manifestly unachievable, owing to fundamental natural causes."¹

But when the separate dominion of Pakistan was actually created, "this news was splashed by the Muslim press of Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces in bold headlines amidst great acclamations and rejoicings. The birth of a new Muslim state on the map of the globe has really been a source of great jubilation to the entire Muslim population of India."²

In the sections of India that are now under Muslim jurisdiction there are several cities that are to be of great importance. Agra and Delhi have been assigned to the India Union but Lahore remains in Pakistan. In Lahore Akbar had held court from 1584-1598, and when Jahangir made it a secondary capital it grew in wealth and splendour. Afterwards Lahore suffered repeatedly from the depredations of Nādir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrānī, and during the struggles with the Sikhs the city was reduced almost to ruins. In 1798, however, when Ranjit Singh chose to establish his capital at Lahore, it was restored and remained under Sikh domination for about fifty years, or until the Punjab was annexed to British India in 1849. Under British rule, as the capital of the Punjab and as the headquarters of the Punjab University, Lahore flourished as a governmental and educational center. Besides separate colleges for Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, there was the Government College, which was secular in character, and two outstanding foreign mission

¹ *Pakistan a Nation*, by al-Hamza, Lahore, 1941.

² *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1947, p. 416.

institutions, i.e., Forman Christian College and the Kinnaird College for Women, both of which have served all religious communities for many years without discrimination, except that the Bible was taught as a basis for moral instruction.

In the last census (1941) Lahore's population of 671,659 showed an increase of 56% in ten years, though the activity of political parties may cast some doubt on the strict accuracy of these figures. It should be remembered to the credit of the leaders in the Punjab that during the negotiations for the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan there was exemplary restraint in consideration of the public interest, but once India became free, then there was a determined effort on the part of the Muslims of Lahore and the West Punjab to drive out the communities of Hindus and Sikhs, many of whom were in open opposition to the idea of Pakistan.

It is also noteworthy that of the four great port cities of British India,—Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Karachi, only the last named lies now in Muslim territory. Karachi, with a population of 359,492, in which Muslims are now well in the majority, is to serve the Dominion of Pakistan both as its capital and its chief port. The harbour of Karachi has been identified as "Alexander's Haven, where Nearchus reached by sailing westwards from the western mouth of the Indus."³ In modern times this harbour has been greatly improved, and from the Malir river a good supply of fresh water has been brought to the city, which has had enormous development as the outlet of the Indus valley for wheat, cotton, oil seeds and hides, as well as the port of entry for imports to meet the needs of N.W. India.

Karachi has also importance in Muslim history, for it was here that Muhammad ibn Qasim, the first conqueror of Sind, established the first Muslim settlement in India in 711. When on August 25th, 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan, addressed the Municipal Corporation at Karachi, he referred to the very special

³ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. KARACHI.

signification that this city is now to have for Muslims in India:⁴

"Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit needs and conditions. That is why, starting from humble beginnings, it has come to be what it is; and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world. Not only its airports but the naval port and also the main town will be amongst the finest. . . . I visualize a great future for Karachi—it always had immense potentialities. Now with the establishment of Pakistan capital here, and the arrival of the Pakistan Government and its personnel, and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense potentialities have opened out for it. So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce, and a seat of learning and culture."

Eastern Bengal, which is the eastern area of Pakistan, and which lies at a distance of seven hundred miles from Western Pakistan, with which it is connected only by air or overland transport, and that only by agreement with the India Union, is developing Chittagong as its port and Dacca as its capital. Chittagong is located at the head of the Bay of Bengal, and it has special importance, not only as Bengal's second port but also as the terminus of the Assam—Bengal Railway. Its exports are mainly jute, tea, cotton, rice and hides.

Chittagong also has considerable historical interest for Muslims. The Mogul sovereigns of Delhi had great trouble governing it at such a distance, and the evil reputation that it gained in those years of only remote control (1338–1539) is described by Bernier,⁵ who wrote that it was regarded as

"the place of retreat for fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca, and other settlements of the Indies, . . . and as they were unawed and unrestrained by government it was not surprising that these renagades pursued no other trade but that of rapine and piracy."

But in 1666 the Muslim commander, Shayista Khan,

⁴ *Islamic Culture*, op. cit., p. 415.

⁵ *Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire*, London, 1914, pp. 174–176.

succeeded in the conquest of these pirates of Chittagong,⁶ and he changed the name of the place to Islāmābād. Nearly a hundred years later, in 1760, this port was ceded to the East India Company by the Nawab Mir Qasim, and now after the long period of 187 years, with a population of about 84,000, Chittagong has again become an important port of an Islamic country, Pakistan.

Dacca, the capital of this south-eastern area of Pakistan, is a flourishing city with a population of 213,218. It lies 234 miles north-east of Calcutta. It has ruins of ancient buildings that go back to the seventeenth century.⁷ The district is characterized by the red soil and the very numerous streams, some of which are navigable for small cargo boats throughout the year.⁸

While the University in Calcutta was established in the year of the Mutiny, 1857, it was not until 1921 that Dacca had its own university, which is of the residential type, and which has been notably influenced by the political developments in Bengal. For it was at a Conference in Dacca in 1906 that the All India Muslim League was founded, and it was to Dacca that Lord Curzon went personally when Bengal was partitioned to offer the new province of East Bengal to the Muslims. That was in 1909 and the papers said that this was in order "to foster in Eastern Bengal the growth of Muhammadan power, which, it is hoped, will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the Hindu community."⁹

Undoubtedly the widespread disturbances that have occurred in India in 1947 will long be remembered as a major tragedy in Indian history. Maulana Āzād, the Education Minister for the India Union, who has been the leader of the Muslims who have been struggling for a united India, said in a statement he gave to the press in New Delhi on the 29th of September:

⁶ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. CHITTAGONG.

⁷ *Tavernier's Travels in India*, London, 1677, reprinted in Calcutta, 1905, p. 103.

⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th edition, art. DACCA.

⁹ *The Communal Triangle in India*, by Asoka Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan, Kitabistan Press, 1942, p. 64.

"Tragic events in the recent past have darkened most minds so that clear and detached vision has become almost impossible. The average Muslim sees today only the sufferings of Muslims in the East Punjab and Delhi, but tends to forget the suffering inflicted upon Sikhs and Hindus by his own co-religionists in West Punjab and the Frontier. Similarly the average Hindu and Sikh remembers the atrocities in West Punjab and the Frontier, but does not feel to the same extent the sufferings of Muslims in the East Punjab or Delhi. This narrowing of sensitiveness is perhaps an inevitable consequence of what has been happening in the country."

"A calm and dispassionate survey of events," the Maulana went on to say, "is necessary if we are to understand the situation in all its tragic implications. The present phase of the sorry tale began in the great Calcutta killing of August 16, 1946. This was followed by further outrages on the Hindus in Noakhali in East Bengal. The retaliation came in Bihar and some districts of the U.P., and as is inevitable in such cases, the killing in Bihar exceeded by many times that in Noakhali. The reply to Bihar came in the Frontier and again, as before, the participants seemed to vie with one another in their unholy competition. Then followed trouble in Rawalpindi district and in each orgy mass frenzy seemed to rise to fresh heights."

As is pointed out in the statement of Maulana Āzād that we are following, the situation in Lahore was particularly difficult, for

"till the Boundary Commission's report was published it would not be known whether Lahore would belong to Pakistan or to India. In an attempt to secure Lahore in their own portion, all the three communities participated in large-scale rioting and murder. Hindus threw bombs, Muslims took to arson, and Muslims and Sikhs competed with one another in stabbing. . . .

"If the Governments of West and East Punjab had been able to organize their resources in time, and had given to the minorities in their respective areas the protection to which they were entitled, perhaps the whole story of the recent tragic happenings might have been avoided. Unfortunately, however, even after partition had been decided, there started a new movement of organizing *Jathas* (gangs or mobs for looting and killing) by non-Muslims in East Punjab to avenge the incidents that had happened in the Frontier and in the Rawalpindi district before the division of India. There was an outbreak of mass violence on an unprecedented scale which threatened to annihilate all the Muslim population there. This served as a signal for a fresh outburst in West Punjab, where the

Muslims took the law into their own hands and let loose a flood of murder and violence that threatened to engulf all non-Muslims in those territories."¹⁰

The "K" in PAKISTAN¹¹ is for Kashmir but it is still very possible for the people of Kashmir, even though they are predominantly Muslims, to choose rather to associate themselves with the India Union. On the 4th of October their popular leader, Shaikh Abdullah, declared in a speech in Srinagar:

"I never believed in the slogan for Pakistan. It has been my firm conviction that this slogan will bring misery for all. I did not believe in the two nation theory, but, in spite of it, Pakistan is a reality today. The problem facing the people of Jammu and Kashmir State now is whether we should join the Indian Union or Pakistan or remain independent. . . . Our choice should be based on the welfare of 4,000,000 people living in Jammu and Kashmir State. And even if we joined Pakistan we would never believe in the two nation theory, which is responsible for so much poison in the country today. I assure the Hindus and Sikhs here that, as long as I am alive, their life and honour will be quite safe. Kashmir has showed light at a critical juncture. When brother kills brother all around us, Kashmir has raised its voice of Hindu-Muslim unity. God is one. Therein lies the fundamental unity of all religions. But my head hangs in shame when I hear that people are being killed in the name of religion."¹²

At the time of writing many of the higher officials are putting forth every effort to conclude arrangements between the two Dominions that will make it possible for the displaced refugees to return to their homes. Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation for Pakistan, has declared that "if something of this nature was not done, hundreds of thousands would remain homeless for years to come." "He was personally in favor," he said,

¹⁰ *Statesman*, Sept. 30, 1947.

¹¹ Cf. THE MOSLEM WORLD, Jan. 1947, art. by Dr. J. L. Dodds: "*Pakistan* is the word and the idea about which the present critical situation in India revolves. Literally, the word means the country of the pure. It has been fancifully derived from the initials of the northern and predominantly Muslim provinces in India: Punjab, Afghan frontier, Kashmir, (I) which is not written in Urdu, Sind, and TAN from BaluchisTAN."

¹² *Statesman*, Oct. 5, 1947.

"of all evacuee Hindus returning to Pakistan and all refugee Muslims returning to India, and again a complete mixture of population and government from Ministers down to chaprasis in both Dominions."¹³

Those who had hoped for a united India that would be free and progressive have been keenly disappointed at the turn events have taken since the division of the country into the two Dominions. It would be hard to express this poignant suffering of heart, in which missionaries are having their full share, better than in the recent declaration of Pandit Nehru:

"Freedom came to us, and it came with a minimum of violence. But immediately after, we had to wade through oceans of blood and tears. Worse than the blood and tears was the shame and disgrace that accompanied them. Where were our values and standards then, where was our old culture, our humanism and spirituality, and all that India had stood for in the past? Suddenly darkness descended upon this land and madness seized the people. Fear and hatred blinded our minds and all the restraints which civilization imposes were swept away. Horror piled on horror, and a sudden emptiness seized us at the brute savagery of human beings. The lights seemed all to go out; not all, for a few still flickered in the raging tempest. We sorrowed for the dead and the dying, and for those whose suffering was greater than that of death. We sorrowed even more for India, our common mother, for whose freedom we had labored these long years."¹⁴

As would be naturally expected the groups of missionaries who are living in areas that have been victimized by communal uprisings have devoted themselves to all kinds of relief work, whether in Pakistan or in the India Union. The National Christian Council has been able to organize very effective relief for sufferers of all parties in Delhi.

From some of the former students of the Henry Martyn School come reports to the effect that the Muslims have been almost entirely driven away from their own fields of work. Some ask if this is to mean that the Henry Martyn School should go and concentrate its efforts in Pakistan. The staff

¹³ *Statesman*, Dec. 13, 1947.

¹⁴ *Statesman*, Dec. 13, 1947.

and the Committee of Management of this institution gave much thought to this question at their recent annual meeting. While it was felt that there should be careful inquiry and observation to ascertain the best means of carrying on work for Muslims in the Western Punjab, in Sind, and in Eastern Bengal, nevertheless it was recognized that probably the division of India had greatly augmented opportunities for evangelism among the forty-five million Muslims who still remain in the India Union. All were agreed that in work for Muslims there is very great need for groups of trained workers in each of the two Dominions, and that Aligarh is ideally located for such a training center.

It is too early as yet to know what is to be the fate of the famous centers for Muslim education that remain in the India Union. The Aligarh Muslim University has behind it the tradition of Sir Saiyid Ahmad, its esteemed founder, in support of an attitude of appreciation for academic freedom and modern progress. There is one group of Aligarh professors who say that they would be prepared to see this institution become more like a typical Government College, receiving provincial and national grants, and admitting some students and employing some professors who were not of the Muslim faith, and that they are hopeful that the University at Aligarh would in that case be permitted to continue to give its primary effort to meeting the educational needs of the Muslims.

Another Muslim educational center that may be able to adapt itself so as to remain in the India Union is the *Jāmi'a-i-Milliyyah*, which is located at Okla, near Delhi. It has been the policy of this institution "to be Islamic in its traditions and national in its outlook." Many of its instructors have worked with a commendable spirit of devotion for meagre salaries, not only in teaching but in the preparation and publication of text-books in Urdu, and they have been strong supporters of the Congress party in its efforts to maintain a united India. It is possible, however, that the present inclination to require Hindi as the official

language in the India Union may lead the Jāmi'a-i-Milliyah to move to Pakistan.

At Deoband, near Saharanpur, in the United Provinces, the *Dāru'l-'Ulūm* is still in session. As the most orthodox of the Muslim educational institutions, which is intended to provide literary orientation for those who are to serve as the teachers of the religion and law of Islam, it might be thought that present circumstances would make it advisable for this work to be carried on in Pakistan, but the group of savants at Deoband have been strong supporters of the Congress party. Maulana Husain Ahmad, who is perhaps their leading spirit, has been a member of the Working Committee of Congress. These men are little inclined to give in now to the advocates of Pakistan by removing to Karachi, however much Karachi may have need of some such school of Muslim faith and practice.

These and other such Muslim educational centers will probably be able to remain in the India Union if the present leadership of the Congress party succeeds in building up a form of government that is secular, comprehensive and progressive in its outlook. The present communal tension in India, however, is so serious that the year 1948 may bring even more momentous changes. There are now to be two Muslim Leagues, one for Pakistan and the other for the India Union, the latter with its center in Madras. Another disturbing factor is that Eastern Pakistan is beginning to feel neglected, for although its population is considerably greater than that of Western Pakistan, because of its isolated location it has been receiving much less consideration.

One fact stands out clearly, and that is that in the year 1947 the equanimity of the Muslim community has been shaken as never before in the history of India. Missionaries are finding individual Muslims more receptive to Christian friendship. They have been disillusioned and thrown into confusion, and are ready to acknowledge their needs. Never has there been greater opportunity for Christian assistance, sympathy and guidance.

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THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL SITUATION IN IRAN.

This is an unusually easy topic to discuss, for so varied is the situation in Iran that almost anything one may say can be proved true by at least some instances. But it is also very difficult, for it is equally true that whatever generalizations one may make, may be challenged by many instances disproving them. The constant temptation is to lay down sweeping principles and generalities on the basis of two or three occurrences; the great danger is that of trying to prove to be true those conditions which we would like to have prevail.

So perhaps the first and safest generalization is a quotation: "All generalizations are false, including this one." For such is the variety in the Iranian scene that no generalization can be claimed to be absolutely true. In recent years my work has been almost entirely in Teheran, largely with the intelligentsia. On the basis of this experience I would be tempted to state that Shiah Islam is a dying faith, its laws honored more in the breach than in the observance, an outworn creed that is largely abandoned by modern Iranians. But this generalization would not be true, even of Teheran. Teheran is still preponderantly orthodox, and the great uncultured masses of south Teheran are still fanatically devoted to the faith of Shiah Islam. And true as this is of south Teheran, it is even more characteristic of such a village as Shahrestanak. There the acids of modernity are unknown and unfelt. Ramazan is a month of fasting by day and listening to preachers by night. When I asked a villager whether an isolated place would be safe to camp out in, he replied: "This is not Teheran. We have no thieves. You could spread jewels all over the ground and no one would touch them." Communist propaganda has passed them by, as they are far off the beaten track, and aside from economic pressure due to war-caused scarcities, they live very much in the faith and conduct of forty generations of ancestors. And in between these two extremes, there is every possible

variety. A large and vocal group professes to be followers of Kasrovi, ostensibly believing in Shiah Islam but considering it to be ruined by the follies and superstitions of the priests. Many of these impress one as being unusually alert to religious issues and genuinely seeking the truth. There are the political religionists, who believe in religion heartily—for the other fellow, and as a coin with which to purchase favor in the bazaar of politics. There are numberless sectarians, Ali Alahis with their many suggestions of a Christian ancestry, devoted Babis, survivors of a dying religion; more numerous Behais, with their eager evangelism. There are growing numbers of atheistic laborers, dazzled by communist promises of a coming workers' paradise, and ready to scoff at the God whom once they feared. There are suddenly pious landowners and capitalists, who share the communists' belief that religion is an opiate for the people, but differ from them in thinking there is nothing Iran needs more urgently than a renewed dose of that opiate. They believe the choice is between religion and revolution, and they choose religion as the lesser of two evils. There are many white-turbaned mullahs who have found the traffic in spiritual wares a highly lucrative profession. The Persian scene thus defies any easy classification, all sweeping generalizations. It is almost infinitely varied, and in that lies both our difficulty and our opportunity as a Christian Mission.

If one were to select a word that would best characterize the young educated Iranians of today, perhaps that word would be "hopelessness." When an Isfahan convert was in Teheran last Spring, looking up and talking with many of his former schoolmates, he commented in astonishment: "They are all without hope." The Bible notes that hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and the young people who have had a few years out of school in which to experience the ugly realities of life in present-day Iran, are sick at heart. One after another the idols they had worshipped have been overthrown, with the result that their glowing hopes have faded in cynicism and despair.

For some years Reza Shah Pahlevi was the plumed

knight who was destined to save Iran from her dastardly foes. I well remember one young Iranian informing me in tones of hushed reverence and his face glowing with pride: "He is the Cromwell of Iran. He will save our country. Just wait and see!" And that he did accomplish marvels in the physical renewal of Iran, no fair-minded person can deny. During the years of his reign, Iranians began to take a new pride in just being Iranians. The erection of beautiful public buildings and palaces, the opening of a spectacularly engineered railway, the inauguration of conscription and the training of a huge people's army, the erection of factories and the blasting of highways through the rugged mountains, the installation of electric power, motor and air transport, and a central broadcasting station, the modernization of towns and cities, the opening of schools and the founding of a modern university, the unveiling of women, the revival of ancient arts and crafts, all these and literally hundreds of other reforms put through by the Shah, combined to make an Iranian proud, not only of his glorious past, but of his progressive present. "Nationalism," we were informed by the then Minister of Education, "has become the religion of Iran, and will remain so for the next fifty years." National feasts and celebrations were inaugurated or revived and observed with impressive displays of troops and equipment, with tens of thousands of marching boys and girls. National songs were composed, and the playing of the national anthem made obligatory at all public functions. In pictures, song and press, Reza Shah Pahlevi was built up to heroic proportions and hailed as the Saviour of Iran.

But there appeared increasingly the other side of his character. Tales of his rapacity, cruelty and greed began to be whispered abroad. In place of reverent admiration, there was cold fear. People whose lands had been filched and relatives unjustly incarcerated to die in prison of the "Pahlevi injection," were encountered everywhere. The masses began to sigh for relief from his manifold oppressions. And then, suddenly and dramatically, the *coup de grâce* was administered to the legend of his greatness and

efficiency, when Russian and British troops invaded Iran, and in two days put to complete and ignominious flight the boasted modernized and mechanized army he had created.

On the heels of his flight, the dream of a communist world came in to preempt the vacant throne of the hearts of young Iran. The alluring vision of a world revolution, equality for all, relief from tyranny, death to the Fascists and a workers' paradise on earth, began to fill the mind of student, worker and peasant. The Soviet was very near, very powerful, and amazingly successful in opposing Nazi might. Iran was flooded with tons of communist propaganda leaflets; communist-subsidized newspapers sprang up everywhere. The Moscow radio laid down its propaganda barrage over the air waves day and night. Many thousands were carried away with enthusiasm. Visitors at Communist Party rallies returned profoundly impressed with the fervor and enthusiasm they had witnessed.

Huge mass demonstrations by the newly organized trade unions with their flying banners and resounding cheers, gave the thrilling feeling of a sleeping giant finally coming awake. The workers and peasants comprised the vast majority of Iran. They were guided and supported by the irresistible power of the Soviet. Now, surely they were riding on the wave of the future. England and the other capitalistic nations became the incarnation of decadence and villainy, and the gallant red soldiers the pioneers of a brave new world. A young Iranian communist with whom I had a long discussion one day finally asked me in almost pitying disgust: "Why are you fighting against this movement? Don't you realize that today all of Europe is in our hands, and America's turn is next? Nothing can stop us." And then, like a bolt from the blue, came the bewildering fiasco of Azerbaijan, the sudden and utter collapse of the supposedly invincible "democrats," the flight of Pishaveri and the dissolution of all his works. With the re-occupation of Azerbaijan stories of the red terror too circumstantial and detailed to be laughed off, filled the press. There came a swift liquidation of outstanding "democrats" of Azerbaijan

who had had the temerity to remain. The hollowness of the Soviet boasts and promises of support dealt their prestige a staggering blow. The alleged brutalities of their rule alienated large masses of public opinion. Where there had been boastful assurance and confident allegiance there appeared doubt and uncertainty. As Tudeh party headquarters were everywhere closed out, fickle followers switched their allegiance to the newly formed democratic party of Teheran. Now it is far too soon to write off communism as a force in Iran. Time, and the ineffectiveness of the present regime are playing into their hands again. Nevertheless the old glow and glory are gone and thousands feel sadly disillusioned.

For a time, a revived, democratic and free Iran, without the dictatorship of Reza Shah on the one hand or the communist terror on the other, beckoned the youth of Iran toward a post war era of peace and prosperity. But it has not come. Prices, after a brief recession, have risen steadily, and all Iran groans under the load. With the relaxing of the fear which Reza Shah had instilled, graft and corruption have overspread the social, political, business and even the educational and medical life of the country. Frustration, bitterness and finally hopelessness have seized the minds and well-nigh paralyzed the wills of the younger men of ambition and ideals in government service. An all-pervading cynicism makes it all but impossible for them to believe in any one's sincerity or integrity. No good deed is done, they feel, from genuinely pure motives. They are always convinced there is some ulterior motive, a selfish or political drive, that actuates every one. In this respect Iran, today, is strikingly similar to the Roman empire of Jesus' day. The disillusioned Jew bemoaned the disappearance of the Macabean century of freedom and victory, and submitted hopelessly to the overweening might of Imperial Rome. The Roman himself, proud though he was of his empire, yet was witnessing an age of unparalleled profligacy, the loss of his own liberties, and the vanishing of the sturdy household virtues that had made Rome great. Historians tell us that

perhaps Christianity's most striking difference from the other faiths of its day, was its glowing hope. Evil men could become good, the sons of the devil could become the sons of God, the rotting kingdoms and empires of men were to be displaced and absorbed by the triumphant Kingdom of God, and the men who believed these things lived, served, sacrificed and died with the peace of God in their hearts, the light of the glory of God in their faces, and with a burning unquenchable hope. And even as Christ proved the answer to the pessimism and hopelessness of imperial Rome, so He stands as the only possible source of hope for a regenerated Iran today.

Another significant development of recent years is the publication of the books of Agha Kasrovi, and the gradual development of what might almost be called the Kasrovi faith. It was during the early days of the Russian occupation that I first began to hear about the daring publications of this prominent editor, a one time student of the American Boys School in Tabriz. Thanks to the occupation it was possible to print books that would never have passed the censor in normal times. My reporter told with enthusiasm of the manner in which Kasrovi was launching his devastating attacks on Shiah Islam. Book after book has come from his facile pen, and the ferment of his heretical ideas has spread from end to end of Iran. With the departure of the Allies, the defenders of Orthodox Shiah Islam sprang into action, and he was accused and brought to trial for his blasphemous attacks. It was while this trial was in progress and he was actually in the court house, that he was shot and killed a little over a year and a half ago. While I have read only one of his books so far and so speak of his teachings with very little direct knowledge, still it is evident his procedure is to pose as a good Muslim, and then proceed to tear Islam as it is today to shreds. He maintains that present-day Shiism is an invention of the mullahs, a travesty of the original faith and the chief cause of the backwardness of the country. He professes to believe that the cure lies in a return to the original pure Islam. Just how far he is moved by a desire to

avoid antagonizing his readers, and how far by sincerity, is hard to say. One has the impression that he is more politic than sincere. For instance he writes that materialism had grown up in the west and completely captured the mind of the westerners. Affairs had reached the point, he maintained, where religion had practically disappeared, and none save a few old women and the professional priests dared make an open profession of their faith. During a long period of over a century no one had been able to make any reply to the materialists. But at long last he had come along, refuted the materialists, and thus saved the cause of faith in God from complete disaster. Now it would seem that any one who makes such statements is very ignorant or else he is a charlatan. It is difficult to believe he was ignorant, for his books reveal a wide reading of history and considerable familiarity with life in the west.

During his life-time he gained an enthusiastic following among the intelligentsia of Iran, and since his death his influence is being continued through his books and through meetings of his followers. One young man assured me recently that Kasrovi has two million followers today in Iran. When I pointed out that there are not that many literates in Iran who could have read his books, and that a large section of the literates belong to the priestly classes he decided that perhaps he had exaggerated a little. But still he insisted that most of the intellectuals of Iran are to be numbered among his followers. I understand he has a book on Christianity, calling it the faith of mysteries, and describing it as a religion good in its day, but likewise corrupted by its priests, but this book I have not yet seen.

This movement is significant for at least three reasons. First it represents an inevitable and welcome revolt of the modern mind against the obvious superstitions and absurdities of modern Islam. As such it is bound to undermine many of the foundations of popular belief in the Shiah faith, and to plow up the soil for the planting of the good seed. Secondly it is, I feel, essentially a negative belief, specializing in calling names and heaping ridicule on current beliefs

but lacking any very positive or constructive alternative. And thirdly, it reveals what we all know to be true, that while materialism and atheism have some intellectual justification and appeal, they do not satisfy the longings of the heart, and that the intelligentsia of Iran who have blithely tossed away their former Islamic faith, are finding in their hearts an unquenchable hunger for God. There is a very great deal of what Kasrovi writes that is true and needed to be said. But it was practically impossible, and certainly would have been highly objectionable and provocative for us to have said it. But now that one of their own scholars has come out and expressed them, the truths he has proclaimed will not easily down. And to that degree our task has been made more simple.

Another movement that shows surprising vitality is the Beha'i movement. When, some twenty years ago, one after another of their own leaders turned against the faith, and wrote devastating exposés of the intellectual fallacies and moral perversions that characterize the movement, there were many of us who felt that Behaism was in its death throes. The "Revelation of Trickery," by Avareh, "Niku's Philosophy," by Niku, with similar but smaller works by Agha Sobhi in Teheran and an outstanding Beha'i woman who had left the faith, so completely undermined the foundations of their propaganda that they seemed to have no ground under their feet. But 1944, the centennial of the proclamation of the Bab, was the signal for a great spurt in their propagandist activity. From Haifa, their leader Shoghi Effendi directed the faithful to scatter from the cities to the towns to carry on evangelistic work, and many, at great personal sacrifice, obeyed. Some sold their homes, others resigned from well-paid positions, and scores went to the smaller towns as self-supporting proclaimers of the faith. The results were not too good. Fierce opposition was stirred up. Anti-Behai riots in places like Shah Rud added new names to the list of Beha's martyrs, so the order was rescinded and they were allowed to return to their bases. But their willingness to go and to sacrifice did provide unimpeachable

testimony to the sincerity of their profession. In talking with their young people I have been impressed with two things. One is their great evangelistic zeal and sincerity, and the other is their remarkable ignorance of their own religion. But there is no question that some of the finest of the young people in Iran today are the second and third generation Behais.

One is also struck with the trend, in recent years, for the movement to become a rigid uncompromising dictatorship over the lives and actions of the followers. Similar to the order to go out to the villages is Shoqi Effendi's more recent order forbidding them to go to America. When one of the most prominent Beha'i women in Teheran, a life-long active propagandist for the faith, recently disobeyed this injunction and went to America to see her son, she returned to find herself excommunicated. Her own daughters refused to visit her on her return, or even speak to her. When her son, one of the leading physicians of Teheran, took her into his home, he was ordered by the Beha'i assembly to put her out. Upon refusing, he too was excommunicated. Now this old lady in extreme indignation, is telling every one that the only reason for their being forbidden to go to America is Shoqi Effendi's discovery that those who do, wake up. They discover that the thrilling stories they have been fed on for years of the sweeping victories of the faith in the United States, are only a pack of lies, so they return disillusioned and bitter against this misleading propaganda.

Any one who has studied the Beha's program for a spiritual assembly that should control all forms of activity over the entire world, realizes that it contains the foundation for an unprecedented and total dictatorship. Not alone religious matters, but social, educational, economic and political affairs would all be governed by this House of Justice, as it is to be called. This house would include only Beha'is and the right to vote for it would be restricted to Beha'is. Thus all other faiths would be completely without legal status or protection, and the body so elected would have powers more absolute than the papacy in its heyday ven-

tured to assert. The present-day autocracy of Shoqi Effendi is a foretaste of what all mankind would suffer if ever their program succeeded. Nevertheless we have much to learn from their indigenous methods of propaganda, and their success in enlisting the enthusiasm of the younger generation. It is also a movement whose influence must not be minimized. Perhaps its most deplorable result is this, that those who leave the movement, and a very great many do so in complete disillusionment, usually seem lost to all religion. Having tried what they consider the latest and best religion, and found that wanting, they have nowhere else to go. May they give heed to Peter's profession when he said: "Lord to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."

But despite all these movements, the religion of the masses is still, and for a long time will continue to be, Shiah Islam. The reign of Reza Shah Pahlevi resulted in something of a Dark Age for the Muslims, with a remarkable decline in their political and social influence. The almost unlimited power of their *mujtahids* or doctors of divinity, was broken by the simple expedient of banishing them to scattered points of the country where they were relatively unknown, while their number was drastically reduced by enforced rigid educational requirements for the privilege of wearing the white turban. The portion of social life controlled by the religious laws was sharply reduced by civil enactments. By first allowing the women the privilege of unveiling, and later forbidding the use of the veil altogether, one of the most conspicuous witnesses to the faith of Islam was outlawed. Religious processions with their fanatical extremes of self-torture and frenzy, were first restricted and then suppressed. School teachers in many cases openly ridiculed Islam in the classroom with impunity and immunity. Child marriage, though practiced and legalized by the Prophet Muhammad, was banned, and several prominent religious leaders landed in jail for non-conformity. The influence of the newly founded university, with its French and French-trained professors, was strongly in the direction of

atheism and materialism. Connected with this and partly as a result, has been a noticeable moral decline. Drinking, hitherto a minor problem and connected largely with the minority groups, became the established social custom in the army and in city society. Dishonesty, especially since the departure of Reza Shah; has become so prevalent that every branch of public service has been affected. Gambling has become the all but universal occupation and recreation of the wealthy classes in the cities. Attempts to control the war inflation in prices were largely frustrated by graft and the black market. The greed of the wealthy exceeds all bounds, and prices are steadily forced into an upward spiral. Divorce and prostitution continue to increase.

Another notable development of recent years has been the destruction of the old Islamic feeling of mutuality and brotherhood, over large areas, by sedulously cultivated class hatred. Every effort has been made to make the farmer and worker class-conscious and to instill in them a hatred for the wealthy, and this propaganda has succeeded in varying degrees. The father and son relationship between land-owner and tenant that prevailed in most villages has largely been replaced by bitterness and mutual suspicion. The frank adoption of deliberate falsehood and distortion as a legitimate means to communist ends has weakened Iran still further where she was already lacking. Sharply conflicting news reports and interpretations from the outside world combine to produce a general cynicism in regard to all governments. The whole trend of events combines to create the feeling that there is no solution for Iran's problems other than a violent one, and to produce an irritated impatience with slow and legal methods of change.

On the other hand there have been definite gains in public morality. There is a new and much overdue interest in social justice and an almost universal acknowledgment that life in Iran needs drastic overhauling. The preaching of the doctrine of equality, even though it has been largely abandoned in the Soviet, has awakened new stirrings of life in Iran and will be used increasingly as a standard of judg-

ment upon things as they are. Even the capitalistic reactionaries who are in power today are impelled to advance a seven-year program of reform, and to give at least lip service to the ideal of public welfare. There has also been, in recent years, a noticeable increase in the public's readiness to help in time of trouble or disaster. An earthquake, flood, or other catastrophe is the signal for an immediate and successful appeal for charitable donations. All this is good, and whether it is a result of the example set by "Christian" nations or of the propaganda of the communists is a minor point.

After many years of partial eclipse the Shiah sun is today shining forth in much of its former glory. It has pleased the powers-that-be to use and encourage Islam as a foil to Russian communism, so the leaders of Islam are once more throwing their weight about. The radio is being effectively used for Islamic propaganda and many Christians listen to Muslim religious broadcasts, commenting favorably, on the whole, regarding their programs. Societies for the defense and propagation of Islam have sprung up everywhere, and many papers carry religious articles. The veil is rapidly coming back, with many young women wearing it for the first time in their lives. In many cities and even in sections of Teheran it is positively dangerous for an unveiled woman to be seen in the streets. Recently a large sign appeared over the entrance to Teheran's big bazaar that read "Unveiled Women will refrain from Entering," and many shop signs advertized reductions of 20% to all veiled women. The large sign was ordered removed by the police but not the idea behind it. On days of mourning flagellants are again crowding the streets and it is reported that in isolated localities head-cutting has been revived. Politicians find it to their advantage to make fervent and frequent references to the glorious religion of Islam and to urge men to follow and honor the faith that they themselves so largely ignore. Strict police regulations enjoining the keeping of the fast are again the order of the day.

And yet one must not exaggerate this Islamic reaction.

Political leaders definitely do not want to see the *mujtahids* back with their old authority. They are ruling the country and intend to continue doing so. There is little likelihood that the civil laws adopted by Reza Shah will be replaced again by the Islamic code. Much, if not most of the pious professions of the politicians are hypocritical, and the young educated classes are openly scornful.

Our survey of the moral and spiritual conditions in Iran today then, reveals that religious interest is appreciably rising. Rampant materialism and atheism have evoked a new determination on the part of the religious to defend and proclaim their faith. The Jews, the Beha'is and the Muslims are all addressing themselves to this task with new determination, while each new day reveals acute and bitter needs for which Christ is the only answer. The fickle and fluctuating Iranians need to found their lives on some rock, and that rock is Christ. The hopeless intelligentsia of the cities of Iran can only find their lives filled with hope and meaning as they surrender them to Christ. The social justice which the communist longs for, but cannot achieve in his philosophic atheism, can be found in the brotherhood of the Kingdom of Christ, and there only. The honesty and spirit of service that every one longs to see in schools, hospitals and government offices will come only as a by-product of a new life on Christ. Freedom to investigate and cast out all superstition that the followers of Kasrovi long for, will be found in the faith of Him who came to reveal the truth that sets men free, and whose service is perfect freedom. The peace for which the Beha'i longs will come only with the reign of the Prince of Peace. The Islamic longing to achieve a righteousness founded on law will be filled and satisfied in the righteousness that is not of the law, but by the Faith of Christ who loved us and gave Himself for us.

JOHN ELDER

Teheran, Iran

THE STRUCTURE OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM

II. Muhammad and the Qur'an

In the first of these studies it was suggested that, already before the beginning of Muhammad's preaching, the old Arabian religions with their tribal fetishes no longer satisfied the religious emotions and insights of many of the Arabs. There is a clear indication of this in the abandonment of local shrines and the growing practice of pilgrimage to central shrines venerated by groups of tribes (of which the Ka'ba at Mecca was one of the most important). At these common shrines, the presence of multitudes engaged in common rituals of worship seems to have generated a feeling of religious exaltation which reflected still more unfavourably on the tribal religions. Although the rites of pilgrimage appear to have retained their animistic character and associations, the existence of a common shrine implies the recognition of some common divinity. It is evident from many indications that—whether owing to the influence of Jewish and Christian infiltrations or to other causes—there was already in Arabia a general recognition of a supreme God, called vaguely Al-Ilāh (or in shortened form, Allāh), "The God."

This is important as showing that Muhammad's preaching was preceded (as might be expected on grounds of historical analogy) by an evolution of ideas, a kind of *prae-paratio evangelica*. But it is clear also that the conception of a supreme God was still vague and confused, entangled with animistic superstitions, and unrelated to any ethical or teleological concepts or to ideas of a future life. The revolution wrought by Muhammad was to lift the conception of Allāh clear of all naturalistic entanglements, to present Him not only as the Supreme God, but as the Only God, and moreover as Creator of the heavens and the earth and all that is in and between them, including mankind and jinn,

as well as final Judge, to whom mankind and jinn must render account of all their actions.

Thus, at one stroke, the religious horizon of the Arabs was elevated above all visible, earth-bound, or personal objects to one unseen, all-powerful, and transcendent Being. But this was clearly not enough. In order to sustain the conception of God at this new height, so immensely above everything that the Arab mind had hitherto imagined, it had to be supported, as it were, by a scaffolding of congruent religious ideas and attitudes. This was, indeed, the main problem faced by Muhammad, as by every great original thinker. The whole of the religious life and thought of a people had to be reconstructed. And it was not only for the other Arabs that this reconstruction was needed; it was also, and primarily, for Muhammad himself. In his case, however, the reconstruction was from above downwards; starting from the vision of Allāh as Judge Supreme and Omnipotent Creator, he intuitively deduced step by step the necessary stages through which they, in their upward ascent, could attain at length to share his conviction.

The Qur'an is the record and instrument of this process of reconstruction of religious thought. There were two sides to it; one, the negative side, which involved the rooting out of all animistic associations from worship and belief; the other, the substitution of a positive monotheistic interpretation of the universe and everything in it. To a certain extent these two aspects could be separated out in the teaching of the Qur'an. The prohibition of 'dedicating' certain categories of animals or of playing with divining-arrows are pure examples of the first, the emphatic assertion of God's creation of the world is an almost pure example of the second.

But for the most part the two aspects are interconnected. In view of the argument put forward in the first of these essays, this was not only the natural process, but the only truly effective one. Like other religious teachers, Muhammad, so far from attempting to impose on the minds of his fellow-countrymen a new and strange complex of ideas,

preserved the religious symbolism of his people, with all its inherited power to stimulate their imaginative faculties, but transposed it from an animistic to a monotheistic frame of reference.

The treatment of the concept of *baraka* in the Qur'an is particularly enlightening. The noun is never employed in the singular, but in the plural only, and God Himself is the sole and direct source of all *barakāt*. The same applies to all its cognates: the frequent use of *tabāraka* in glorifying God; the active *bāraka* to express God's conferring *baraka* upon persons or things; and the participle *mubārak* to describe persons or things upon whom God has conferred *baraka* or the power to confer *baraka*. There is no need to deny formally the existence of any kind of *baraka* which derives from any source but God; once the concept *baraka* has been identified in thought and feeling with the concept *Allāh*, any other association of ideas becomes unthinkable.

With this goes a reinterpretation of the jinn. Neither their existence nor their malevolence is denied. But they are no longer self-determining, irrational forces; they are the creatures of God, and work His will, however strange and inexplicable their actions may seem to men. By their identification with the *shayāṭīn* or devils they are, so to speak, rationalized, and serve in their turn to rationalize the mysterious evils and misfortunes that befall men, by linking them up somehow with the all-disposing decree of God.

The most familiar and obvious example of this rededication of religious symbolism is, however, the Meccan Pilgrimage. It might also be called the most successful example. Belief in the animistic *baraka* and in the irrationality of the jinn maintained themselves in spite of the teaching and influence of the Qur'an, but the universal testimony seems to confirm that in all its rites the Pilgrimage is performed with a single-minded devotion to *Allāh* on the part of all participants. No doubt, as the traveller Ibn Jubair already pointed out, there are differences of under-

standing and differences of conduct among the worshippers, but these do not affect the true unity of purpose.

These examples are typical of the method of the Qur'an throughout. The mercantile ideas and institutions of the Meccans and the processes of agriculture are, like the dominant ideas of animism, captured and transformed into instruments for driving home the conviction of a supreme controlling Power. But in order that the impact of this conviction might not be weakened, it was equally important to leave no loophole for confusion or controversy on the nature of the Supreme Power. The scientific mind, whose attitudes are determined by the heritage of Greek thought, finds such a controlling power in natural law, which is then equated by the religious intuition with the Law of God. Muhammad, whose intuitive vision was not circumscribed by Greek thought, implicitly rejected any concept of natural law and envisaged the controlling power in the personality of an all-powerful God, *lā sharīka lahu*, sole and unrestricted by any kind of association. That this was to Muhammad himself a crucial point is obvious from the prominence which the Qur'an gives to denouncing *shirk*, the sin of imagining any kind of association with God, not merely of Christian trinitarianism. And rightly so, since, once the teaching is accepted, all other conceivable forms of worship, such as star-worship for example, simply wither away.

But this is only a beginning. Belief in a controlling personal God may well be fortified by rededication of ritual and by providing new frames of reference for familiar concepts. They provide the scaffolding of congruent ideas; it remains to build a scaffolding of congruent attitudes. The fears which seem to lie at the heart of animistic religion may possibly be transformed into religious awe, but between awe and the reverence which issues in true piety there is a transition which it is not easy to make. It is difficult even to put it into words, but it may be roughly defined by saying that reverence requires, in addition to awe, two things:

a sense of the goodness of God, and a sense of personal relation to God.

Here again Muhammad boldly took over the old animistic terms and reinterpreted them. *Taqwā* meant originally the guarding of oneself against the wrath of the divinity by taking steps to propitiate it, and its verb *ittaqa* is still employed in the Qur'an in that sense. The prior evolution of these words as technical religious terms is still unknown; but the occurrence of *taqwā* as early as Sūra 96, v.12, suggests an established usage. Possibly, therefore, *taqwā* had already acquired the sense of religious awe. For Muhammad himself its foundation was fear of the Judgment Day and of hell-fire, and his insistence upon this as fundamental in the religious life is reflected in the dominant place which it held in the thought of later generations. But while *taqwā* never lost this association with fear of hell, by the later sūras of the Qur'an it has clearly come to mean also reverence in the wider sense, and in two particularly significant passages (5, 3 and 58, 10) it is conjoined with *birr* to denote that relationship to God which issues in willing obedience and motivates all good works.

The stress laid by the Qur'an on the goodness of God, linked up explicitly or implicitly with the familiar term *barakāt*, is too obvious to require exposition. Mere intellectual assent, however, is not enough. God's goodness must be felt with such intensity that it calls out the emotion of gratitude. If the feeling of awe and the sense of gratitude to God are to become real influences in the believer's life, they must be inseparable from all his thinking. Hence the insistent and reiterated summons to *dhikr*, the recollection of God, in all conjunctions and at all seasons. And since, for the mass of men, *dhikr* is facilitated by, and possibly even requires, the stimulus of regular bodily exercises at set times, both *taqwā* and *birr* involve the punctual performance of the ritual prayers, *ṣalāt*.

The disciplinary value of the prostrations has often been remarked, and is not to be overlooked; but discipline is valuable not so much for itself as for what it leads to. It

is not improbable that the most important part of the *ṣalāt* is precisely that part which is so often neglected in descriptions of the ritual, the few moments of quiet meditation and supplication that follow after the end of the prostrations. The latter are, so to speak, the exercises which, by impressing a spirit of humility and devotion upon the mind of the worshipper, allow him to enter into communion with God, and so to attain to that personal relation which transfigures all thought and governs all action.

The attitude or character which results from this relationship is called *birr*, one of the most striking of Muhammad's revaluations of terms. In its secular use, the root indicates the paternal and filial relation, with its attitudes of affection, obedience, and loyalty. To Muhammad, as to all other prophetic teachers, the test of true belief lay in character and works. If the repeated insistence of the Qur'an upon good works were not enough, it would be conclusively proved by the comprehensive definition of *birr* in the noble verse, Sūra 2, 172: not only belief in God, the Last Day, the angels, the Scripture and the prophets, but charity to all for the love of God, steadfastness in prayers, loyalty to the plighted word, and patience under all afflictions—these are the qualities that mark out the truly believing and the truly godfearing. *Birr* is thus the crown of true belief, when the believer at last realizes and responds to the ever-presence of God in all his thoughts and conduct.

This, then, is the message which the Qur'an conveyed to the first generation of Muslims and has conveyed to all generations ever since. It is a record of direct living experience of God, both absolutely and in relation to the common affairs of life, and a summons so to order one's life as to be able to share it. By following its precepts, by striving to grasp, not with his intelligence only but with his heart and soul, the spirit of its teaching, the Muslim seeks to recapture something of the intuitive vision and of the experience of the beloved Prophet. The significance of its every phrase is enhanced for him by his belief that it is the literal Word of God, yet even if this were not an article of doctrine its

value to him as a living source of religious inspiration and insight would scarcely be affected.

From this point of view (which is the essential one) the question of the sources of Muhammad's doctrines, which so greatly interests Christian and Jewish scholars in the west, is entirely irrelevant. Learned Jewish scholars have demonstrated that many or most of the sayings attributed to Jesus in the Gospels are recorded in Hebrew writings as the sayings of one or other of the great Rabbis, but this does not alter the fact that the structure of even primitive Christian thought is entirely distinct from that of Judaism. Similarly, whatever Islam may have incorporated of earlier religious ideas does not alter the fact that the religious attitudes expressed in and mediated by the Qur'an constitute a new and distinctive religious structure.

It is essential to bear in mind also that the Qur'an is not a work of theology, in the sense that theology is a rational philosophic interpretation of the universe based upon or harmonized with the data of religious intuition. To be sure, intuition itself implies an interpretation of the universe, but it is the direct vision of a seer, to whom the principles of world order (which the Qur'an calls *al-hikmah*) present themselves in a series of concrete images or symbols, and their application is linked up with concrete events. The intuitive mind does not ask, like the philosopher, 'What is goodness, truth, or beauty?' It asserts 'This particular action in these particular circumstances is good, that is evil; this is just, that is unjust.' The Qur'an appeals therefore primarily to the religious imagination and only afterwards to the intellect. But, as was pointed out in the first of these essays, it remains true that, in spite of the development of a systematic Islamic theology by later scholars, the great body of the Muslim community was composed of peoples amongst whom such an intuitive approach to the truths of religion exerted a far stronger and more immediate influence than any quantity or subtlety of rational argument.

Since, however, all religion remains at bottom linked up with the imaginative life, it cannot touch the soul with-

out some kind of appeal to the senses and emotions. If the senses are not alert and its rituals and symbols evoke no emotional response, religion may exist as a body of dogmatic and ethical teachings, but it will lack soul and vision. Art is not only the handmaid of religion, but the door-keeper of its inmost shrine.

So too with the Muslim. What gives the Qur'an its power to move men's hearts and mould their lives is not its bare content of doctrine and exhortation, but its vivid frame of words. Like the prophetic books of the Old Testament, it speaks in the language of poetry, though not tied to the external yokes of metre and rhyme. If by poetry one means the almost magical disposition of words so that they echo and re-echo in the mind, opening up long vistas to the inner eye and creating in the spirit an exaltation that lifts it clear above the material world and illuminates it with a sudden radiance, that is just what the Qur'an means to the Muslim. That this is no mere speculation is proved not only by personal experience, but by the fact that the dogma of *i'jāz*, the incomparability or miracle of the Qur'an, rests as much on its artistic and aesthetic qualities as on its substantial contents.

I have tried elsewhere to analyze the roots of this Muslim susceptibility to linguistic artistry, and need not repeat the argument here. One further point may be added, however. Just as the Christian Church invoked the aid of music to heighten the emotional tension of its religious services, so too Islam developed the art of musical recitation of the Qur'an to intensify its imaginative and emotional appeal. The difference between the musical arts of the two religions is so striking that it might well furnish the theme of an interesting analysis; but it ought not to obscure the fact that the ultimate end is the same in both.

It is not surprising that the Muslim cannot find in any other sacred book anything of this poetical and emotional quality, this power to sustain and strengthen the faculty of intuitive vision, the upward leap of the mind and spirit to grasp in concrete experience the reality behind the fleeting

phenomena of the material world. Yet even this is not all. Indissolubly linked with the Qur'an, and supplementing the rational appeal of its teachings and the imaginative appeal of its language by the warmer emotions of human affection, stands the figure of Muhammad himself.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the strength and the effects of the Muslim attitude to Muhammad. Veneration for the Prophet was a natural and inevitable feeling, both in his own day and later, but this is more than veneration. The personal relationships of admiration and love which he inspired in his associates have echoed down the centuries, thanks to the instruments which the Community created in order to evoke them afresh in each generation.

The earliest of these instruments was the narration of *Hadith*. So much has been written about the legal and theological functions of the *hadith* that its more personal and religious aspects have been almost overlooked. It is true, to be sure, that the necessity of finding an authoritative source which would supplement the legal and ethical prescriptions contained in the Qur'an led to a search for examples set by Muhammad in his daily life and practice. One could be certain that if he had said this or that, done this or that, approved this or that action, one had an absolutely reliable guide to the right course to adopt in any similar situation. And it is equally true that this search went far beyond the limits of credibility or simple rectitude, and that it was in due course theologically rationalized by the doctrine of implicit inspiration.

But in its origins it was the natural outgrowth of simple piety and personal loyalty, and it has always remained so outside theological and legal circles—and within them also. Indeed, the existence of this attitude amongst the members of the Community in general is the necessary presupposition of the rise of the legal and theological attitudes. It began, in all probability, in Muhammad's own lifetime, and one of its purposes (possibly even its primary purpose) was to preserve and pass on to later generations the portrait and personality of the man Muhammad. Without the *ha-*

dīth he would in course of time have become, if not a distant, at least a generalized figure in their historical and religious background. The *ḥadīth*, presenting his human existence in an exuberant mass of living and concrete detail, not only set before Muslims a minute picture of human life as it should be lived, but, still more, linked them to him in the same close personal relationship as that enjoyed by the first Companions, a relationship which, so far from weakening, has grown with the centuries. The figure of Muhammad has never become formalized and institutionalized; and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the warmth of this personal feeling for the beloved Prophet has long been the most vital element in the religion of the Muslim masses, at least among the Sunnīs.

The force of this current in Muslim religious thought can be seen by the variety of forms in which it found expression. In the early centuries it swelled the mass of Tradition by transferring to the Prophet many elements from the religious heritage of Christianity and even of Buddhism (as distinct from the multiplication of legal and theological *ḥadīths*). But later Muslim piety found other and freer means of expression than the *ḥadīth*, with its somewhat rigid and scholastic framework, could supply. On the purely literary side there were the many *sīras* or biographies, of which those written in our own time by several eminent Muslim writers are not the least remarkable; works on the evidences of Muhammad's prophethood (*dalā'il*) and his personality (*shamā'il*); and a multitude of other works in both prose and verse, particularly the *qaṣīdas* or panegyrical odes, of which the *Burdah* of al-Būṣīrī is the most famous.

Popular as many of these were and are, however, their circulation and influence were far outranged amongst all sections and classes by the hymns and chants composed by Sufis in honour of the Prophet, and especially those which entered into *ṣufi* devotions on public occasions. The ecstatic beauty of many of these *ṣufi* hymns (Rūmī's poem in R. A. Nicholson's selections from the *Divāni Shamsi Tabriz*, no. IX, may serve as an example) grips the heart and mind

with a power comparable to that of the Qur'an itself; but even much more mediocre compositions could, in an atmosphere of collective enthusiasm, generate similar effects and emotions. The ceremonial veneration of Muhammad, initiated and popularized throughout the Muslim world by the Sufis, corresponded so exactly to the feelings and devotional needs of Muslims that they have survived even among the classes which are no longer attracted to Sufism. Formal family festivals continue to be rounded off with ceremonies and recitations in honour of the Prophet, and they are enthusiastically observed by the whole community on the day celebrated as the Birthday of the Prophet (*mawlid an-nabī*, 12th Rabī' al-awwal). Modernists and traditionalists, Sufis, Salafis, 'ulamā and Muslims of no label at all meet together here on common ground. In their intellectual attitudes there may be the widest diversity, but in devotion and affection to Muhammad they are one.

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BĀBAK OF BADHDH AND AL-AFSHĪN
DURING THE YEARS 816–841 A.D.

(Concluded from our January issue)

The Prosecutor next introduced a new witness, a landlord (*marzubān*),³³ who had evidently clashed with Afshīn before. Flinging an insult at the defendant he exclaimed: "O Humbug, how often you contradict and delude yourself!" Afshīn threw back a retort: "O Long-beard, what have you to say?" The Marzubān asked, "How do the people of your district address you in their letters?" Afshīn replied, "The same as they addressed my father and grandfather." The Marzubān became more explicit, "Do they not address you so and so (*Bagh-an-Bagh*)³⁴ in the Ushrūs-nah tongue—and is not its meaning in Arabic 'To the God of Gods—from his slave so and so?'" Afshīn assented whereupon the Prosecutor Muḥammad ibn 'Abdul Malik interposed, "If Muslimūn are to put up with this (greeting) used to them, then what have you left to Pharaoh when he said to his people, 'I am your Lord the Most High' "³⁵ Afshīn answered, "This greeting was customary with my people to my father and grandfather and to me before I became a Muslim. I dislike to place myself in an inferior position to my ancestors lest they (my people) should disobey me."

Another judge here interposed—Ishaq bin Ibrāhīm bin Maṣ'ab, "O Ḥaydar, how can you swear by God? How can we Muslims trust you and believe your oaths and treat you as a Muslim—while you claim that which Pharaoh claimed?" This irritated Afshīn who evidently knew more than is recorded about the author of the last question, for he replied: "O Abū al-Ḥusayn! 'Ujaif recited this verse (you have just

³³ Ibid., 1310:12 ff. Marzubān originally was a military title meaning "Frontier Guard" but as the duty was attached to the granting of a fief, the title was synonymous with the word "landlord."

³⁴ *Die Malerin Von Samarra*, by E. Herzfeld, Berlin 1927, p. 85.

³⁵ Qur'ān, lxxix, 24. The literally-minded Arab prosecutor, probably intentionally, here attempts to identify polite Persian phraseology with the Incarnation theory of Egyptian royalty. Such sophistry indicates that Afshīn was really condemned before he was tried.

quoted) against 'Alī bin Hishām and now you recite it against me? Beware lest tomorrow someone recite it against you!" With this, the Marzubān retired and a new witness appeared.

To understand the witness of Māzyār, Lord of Ṭabaristān, one must review briefly his history.³⁸ A descendant of the Qarinwand Lord of Ṭabaristān (roughly corresponding to modern Māzandarān), he ruled from 194-224 A.H. (809-839 A.D.) and led two revolts against the Caliph. In his early life he refused to recognize Islām or the Caliph but was captured and became a Muslim, taking the name of Muḥammad. Returning to Ṭabaristān, he revolted again in 218 A.H., denounced the Arabs and Islām and allowed a massacre of some 260 Arab landlords and their partisans. In this revolt, he claimed he was encouraged by Afshīn and when 'Abdullah ibn Ṭāhir, Governor of Khurāsān finally crushed the revolt and recaptured Māzyār, bad blood was stirred up between 'Abdullah and Afshīn, especially since it was reported that Afshīn hoped to displace 'Abdullah as Governor of Khurāsān. Māzyār evidently hoped his punishment would be lightened by turning State's evidence against Afshīn and so he appeared to confront the defendant in the trial. It might be added that this did not lighten his punishment, for later Māzyār was sentenced to 400 stripes and died before they were all administered. His body was crucified next to that of Bābak on the walls of the city.

After recognizing one another, the Prosecutor asked Afshīn if he had written a letter to Māzyār, which Afshīn denied. Māzyār was then interrogated and replied, "Yes," his brother Khāsh wrote to my brother Qūhyār as follows: 'This White (Luminous) Religion (Magianism as opposed to the Black (Dark) Religion of Islām) could only be victorious by means of three persons—by me, by you and by Bābak. As for Bābak, he caused his own death by his own foolishness. Even though I tried to ward death away from

³⁸ The story of Māzyār is given in many passages in Ṭabarī, III and more briefly on Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 137-138. A concise summary appears in the Encyclopaedia of Islam under the name Māzyār.

him, his foolishness forbade any assistance until it involved him in the catastrophe which befell him. Now there remains to the nation (the Muslim people) no one except myself with whom they can confront you, for with me are the knights, the people of valor and courage. If I favor you, no one remains to fight us except three groups, the Arabs, the Western Arabs (Maghāribīyah) and the Turks. As for the Arabs, they are as dogs. Extend to them a piece of bread, then club them on the head. As for those flies, the Maghāribīyah, they are Eaters of the Head (meaning "very few"), and as for the Turks, those Sons of Satan, their arrows will be exhausted in an hour, after which the horsemen shall charge against them and their end shall come. Religion will then return to what it was in the days of Iran ('Ajam)!"

Afshīn did not deny that the letter expressed his sentiments nor that his brother had written it (under dictation?) to Māzyār through Qūhyār but he attempted to turn the point of the charge by two methods. First, this letter was not his, but his brother's and he was therefore not implicated. Secondly, even if he had dictated it, it would be no proof against him for he could argue that he was using the letter as a stratagem to get Māzyār's confidence, and penetrate his security, capture the rebel and bring him in as a prisoner—as that had been done by 'Abdullah bin Ṭāhir. This evasive defense leaves the strong impression that Afshīn had no desire to deny the genuineness of the letter—or its contents—as originating with him. If this did really express his views, one can see the strong feeling of Iranian religious and patriotic fervor with which the Princes stimulated one another, hoping for the speedy end to Arab and Islamic domination.

After some further questioning, Aḥmad bin Abī Du'ād asked Afshīn if he were "pure"⁸⁷ (*muṭaharrah*—usually meaning circumcised as in the following case) to which he gave a negative reply. Ibn Abī Du'ād seemed shocked, "Then what do you mean by that (such negligence) for by means of that (circumcision) all Muslimūn become cere-

⁸⁷ Ṭabarī, III, 1312: 16 ff.

monially pure?" Afshin countered, "Is not self-preservation (*taqīyah*) an element in the religion of Islām?—Then I feared to cut off that member (the foreskin) from my body lest I die." Ibn Abī Du'ād became sarcastic, "You, a soldier, are exposed to the thrust of a spear and to the stroke of a sword—and yet you fret at cutting off your foreskin?" Afshin replied, "The former is a duty assigned me by war and I endure it when it happens, but the latter is voluntary and I do not trust in that lest it cost my life, nor was I aware that by ignoring it, I was excluding myself from Islām." With this the interrogation ended.

Particularly valid in understanding Iranian thought is the theory of "self-preservation" (*taqīyah*) by which Afshin intended to use one Islamic tenet to void another. So far has Iranian thought gone in this direction that *taqīyah* is applied even to denying one's religion in cases of constraint. In Afshin's case, it is clear that he was using the argument from "self-preservation" purely as "rationalization."

The prosecution considered its case complete.³⁸ Bughā the Elder, Afshin's former adjutant, seized the prisoner's girdle, inverted his long coat over his head and led him thus muffled back to prison. Some discrepancies appear in the narration of the final events. It seems the Caliph intended to show himself favorably inclined toward his former favorite, and so sent his son Hārūn al-Wāthiq with a tray of fruits to the prison called Lūlūh. But Afshin, probably fearing poison, made an excuse not to eat any of the gift. Later another emissary of al-Mu'tasim named Hamdūn bin Ismā'il, went to see Afshin and found the tray of fruit untouched. Hamdūn was impressed with the dignified noble personality of Afshin and suggested that the Caliph was about to parole Afshin in his care. In response to this, Afshin sent back a rebuke to the Commander of the Faithful with these words:

"Tell the Amīr al-Mū'minīn, you have favored and honored me, yet you have crushed me and accepted unproven charges against me, such charges as are irrational

³⁸ Ibid., 1315: 9 ff.

even to your way of thinking. How can it be and how is it possible for me to do the thing which has been told to you? You are informed that I intrigued with Mankajūr³⁹—but you have known the reason for this (accusation) for you are my Protector and I am but one of your slaves. But my case and yours, O Commander of the Faithful, is like a man who tended a calf, fattening it until it grew large and well-conditioned. But he had friends who longed to eat the calf's meat and they suggested slaughtering the calf, but he, (the Master) did not favor the idea. So they connived together to say to him on a certain day, "Woe to you! This is a lion; this is a wild beast which has not become full grown. When a wild beast grows to full maturity, it reverts to its original nature!" He replied, "But woe to you! This is the calf of a cow. It is not a lion." They replied, "It is a lion, ask anyone you desire." So he approached several people (of the conspirators) whom he knew, all of whom assured him: "It is a lion. Woe be you!" So the owner ordered the slaughtering of the calf. I, Afshīn, am that calf. How can I be a lion? God, O God! You reared me and honored me and you (O Amīr) are my Lord and my Protector. I pray God that he may inspire favor in your heart toward me."

Whatever Mū'taṣim's original intentions, after hearing this, he ordered a reduction in Afshīn's daily food⁴⁰ to a single loaf of bread a day. Later in Sha'bān 226 A.H. or nine months later it was reported he had starved to death. The body of the dead man was plucked clean of hair and exposed to the gaze of his son. Later it was crucified at the Public Gate next to the scaffolds of Bābak and Māzyār after which it was burned with the wood of the cross. His spear was thrown into the Tigris. One more indication of Af-

³⁹ The story of Mankajūr is given in Ṭabarī, III, 1301: 7 ff summarized as follows: After Afshīn's victory over Bābak, the former appointed Mankajūr as Governor. The latter discovered a large amount of hidden wealth in Badhdh which he hid. An informant wrote to the Caliph evidently accusing Afshīn as being a partner in hiding the plunder. Afshīn, however, immediately sent Boghā the Elder to Ardabil. Mankajūr fled to a mountain fortress but was betrayed by his associates and taken to Sāmarrā, where he was given security. Ṭabarī's story completely vindicates Afshīn of any complicity in this incident. Yet evidently the Caliph had used this as a cause of suspicion.

⁴⁰ Ṭabarī, III, 1317: 17 ff.

shīn's religious customs is recorded. When Afshīn was imprisoned, the Caliph sent Sulaymān bin Wahb the Scribe to make a list of everything discovered in Afshīn's house. The list contained such items as the following:⁴¹ A wooden statue in the form of a man much ornamented with jewels and in its ears two white stones placed in a gold setting. A curious investigator took out the stone from the setting and found it to be similar to mother of pearl, then called "būq." There were "ugly pictures" and other statues and items which he had prepared. Other statues were found among the trappings of a Minister of State. There were many books, some of them books of the Maji entitled *Zarāwah* which included many devotional prayers.

In 1912, archaeologists excavating the Throne room in the Castle known as Jausaq al-Khāqānī in Sāmarrā, made a significant find under the floor.⁴² In the years 747-859 A.D. the fresh water system had gone out of commission and consequently the drainage pipes had been removed from beneath the floor. This was less than a decade after the death of al-Afshīn and the discovery of the "statues and ugly pictures." In the excavation from which the drainage pipes had been removed, someone had carefully and intentionally placed two columns, one broken but one in good condition, covered with paintings representing pictures of priests, knights and women, with signatures of the painters. From the Muslim point of view these were idols—but the foregoing passage indicates that there were many secret devotees of such figures in the palace and even fanatic Muslims must have had a superstitious awe for such objects, and would have avoided drawing upon themselves the curse of such deities by destroying them. The discovery throws a clear light upon the type of paintings mentioned in the inventory of Afshīn's room. Although Dr. Herzfeld does not definitely identify these objects as being those mentioned in the

⁴¹ Ibid., 1318: 2 ff.

⁴² Herzfeld, *Die Malerin Von Samarra* (See note 34) pp. 84-85. The pictures of the paintings are reproduced in Plates lx-lxi. Contrary to the derogatory remark in Ṭabarī that the pictures were "ugly," the pictures are very good samples of Iranian art.

trial, he states that these finds must be contemporary with the above mentioned events and that they recall the sad and tragic end of this Iranian nobleman who was starved to death in the year 840/1 A.D.

The details of the scant records left about such persons as Bābak, Māzyār and Afshīn indicate that a hard core of old Iranian culture flourished along with—or in spite of—Islamic culture until the middle of the ninth century A.D. It is not then to be wondered that within two more centuries, the revival of Iranian history, language and concepts was to burst into full flower in the *Shāhnāmāh* of Firdaūsi, for its roots were deep in the life of the people of the eastern caliphate. And of equal significance has been the twentieth century revival of Iranian forms symbolized in the acts and reforms of Riza Shah who dominated the Iranian picture from 1920-1941. First he adopted the royal family name of Pahlavi, the "Bahlu" of the Arab geographers who thus characterized the Arsacid dynasty of the Parthians (200 B.C.-226 A.D.) He placed the crown upon his own head at the Coronation, owing it to no Muslim sanction. Then followed a flood of reforms, all aimed at reducing or totally eliminating both Arab and Shi'ah Muslim influence from Iran and re-establishing old Iranian ideas. An Academy was established to purify the Persian language with power to enforce eradicating of Arabic words and substitute old Persian. The official calendar was changed from lunar to solar reckoning with a return to the old Persian names. Religious holidays were discouraged and public celebrations relating to Arab origins practically forbidden while a series of new national holidays were officially ordered. Ramaḍān and Muḥarram ceremonials disappeared officially and their observance became purely a private affair. By a series of rigid examinations, the Islamic clergy was greatly reduced in number and its source of livelihood restricted to a minimum. Waqf funds were placed under the Ministry of Education and partially used for secular services. The laws of the country were thoroughly revised, based largely on European practices and many Islamic privileges curtailed or

cancelled. On the grounds of protecting national finances, pilgrimages to Arab shrines abroad almost ceased. Poets and artists vied with one another in portraying the King as one embodying the spirit of Cyrus and Darius and ascribing to him divine rights. The military schools chose the slogan "What tho' the King command—or God" (*Che farmān i-shāh, che hokm i yezdān*). The official song of the Department of Education included in its second stanza the verse, "O Shah, your love is our model and goal, worshipping your name is our religion (*parastī-dan-i-nām-i-to, dīn-i-māst*); one by one we lay our hearts under your orders, for in all our hearts is the place where faith (*imān*) in you dwells." The greatest cultural event of a decade was the Celebration of the Millenium of Firdaūsī, the poet-historian who refused to borrow any Arabic words to write his Epic of Kings, and so on. The spirit of Bābak and al-Afshīn is still abroad in the land.

EDWIN M. WRIGHT

Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

How to Lead Moslems to Christ. By Geo. K. Harris, with a Foreword by Samuel M. Zwemer. Philadelphia, Toronto, London, China Inland Mission, 1947, pp. 122. \$1.50.

Here is the book that missionaries to Moslems have been wishing for these many years. Concisely and succinctly the author, who is a distinguished missionary to Chinese Moslems, gives a series of points to stress and then in the appendix provides a summary of information both about Islam and about problems growing out of discussions with Moslems.

I can think of nothing that would be more useful for an itinerating young missionary than this handbook. First of all, Mr. Harris draws on the wisdom of other experienced witnesses among Moslems to tell of successful methods and procedures. He is clear and forthright in his advice that the spirit and method of approach to Moslems are of the greatest importance. He quotes from W. A. Rice who advised the missionary to Moslems not to start a controversy but to meet it when it appears.

One of the most interesting chapters of this little volume deals with the apparently unbridgeable chasms between Christianity and Islam. Very wisely the author calls attention to certain muddled statements and incorrect deductions that lead to difficulties.

The final chapter deals with statements or questions commonly raised by Moslems. This should be a tremendous time saver for the missionary who is inevitably confronted with these same situations wherever he meets Moslems across the world today.

In the introduction Dr. Zwemer pays tribute to the author and to the excellence of the little book. It should be purchased by every Mission Board for the use of missionaries going to Moslem fields.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG

New York City

La mesure de notre liberté. Par Louis Gardet. Tunis, Publications de l'Institut des Belles Lettres, 1946. pp. 109.

Scholarly study of representative Muslim theological manuals lies behind this treatise, which is an able discussion of a very important chapter of *kalām*, and in fact of all theology: the problem of human free will in relation to God's omnipotence. The main subdivisions deal with the following subjects: the human free acts; justice and injustice, here under the notion of grace; the divine will, the decree and predestination.

The presentation of the Muslim doctrine is really a combination of the teaching of several outstanding manuals, especially Asharite works, representative both of the classical Asharism and "the modern way," and which are taught in the great mosques especially all over North Africa (e.g., Bayjuri's commentary), and in the superior courses at al-Azhar and az-Zaytuna (e.g., *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*).

In order to throw full light on the question, the Asharite point of view is always seen in relation to that of competing schools.

But the writer has also had the good idea of seeing it in relation to the Christian view of the different problems, as those of grace, predestination, God's sovereign will, etc. But the reference to Christianity is not a matter of comparison, which would not be completely fair, but serves as a "point of orientation" for Christian readers especially. The reference to Christianity is especially to the Thomist teachings, which are officially those of the Roman Catholic Church, but there is ample reference to Protestant views. The writer seems to mention Zwingli with predilection. Incidentally, speaking of Karl Barth, the writer calls his movement neo-Calvinist, which is not usual with Protestants. We distinguish between the Barthians and the neo-Calvinists of France, centering around Lecerf.

In short, Gardet's book might serve as a handy compendium to missionaries and others who need to know something about the deeper problems in Islam, and not only the more obvious superstitious aspects of popular Islam. Great theological and philosophical terms are here defined and explained; intricate reasoning is here analyzed. Showing the development in Islam in the ages past, it gives, indirectly, hope for the future.

WILLY HEGGOY

Hartford, Conn.

Gazzali et S. Thomas D'Aquin: *Essai sur la preuve de l'existence de Dieu proposée dans L'IQTISAD et sa comparaison avec les "voies" Thomistes*. Par S. De Beaurecueil. Le Caire, Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale, 1947. pp. 38.

This is a reprint from the Bulletin of the Institute, Vol. XLVI. The author calls attention to the revival of interest in the relations between Islam and Christian thought especially due to the writings of the late Asin-y-Palacios. In his Introduction to a translation of al-Ghazzali's *Iqtisād* he states that the Muhammadan theologian advances two proofs for the existence of God. The one based on the physical wonders of creation which prove by their beauty, wisdom and utility, a Creator; the other based on man's reason and philosophy, such as the contingency of the universe, the reign of law, etc. Both of these, however, according to this critic and in opposition to Asin-y-Palacios, are *not* similar to the proofs of St. Thomas. Only the argument from design based on the observance of nature is parallel in Ghazzali. The philosophical argument of St. Thomas is of a different character and wholly superior to that of Ghazzali. This is set forth by a careful comparison of major premisses, by footnotes and quotations in thirty-two small quarto pages of this pamphlet. It will be of special interest only to students of medieval philosophy. The author's concluding paragraph illustrates the lucid style of this monograph and offers a moral lesson: "Le jugement d'Asin y Palacios, trouvant un point de contact entre Gāzzali et S. Thomas dans 'l'existence de Dieu démontrée par les idées de contingence et de nécessité', semble donc sujet à caution. Le savant orientaliste est évidemment excusé de cette inexactitude d'interprétation par le fait qu'il s'agit là d'un détail bien minime dans l'oeuvre par lui entreprise sur la pensée, surtout morale, de Gāzzali. Il est bon cependant de la relever et d'en prendre leçon;

si d'aussi grands savants que lui ont cédé parfois à la tentation du concordisme, que risquerait-il d'en être de ceux qui ne possèdent pas sa compétence et son érudition?" Or, to put it more briefly, who shall decide when doctors disagree?

S. M. ZWEMER

New York City

De Taal van Den Koran: Rede uitgesproken bij de Aanvaarding van het Ambt van gewoon Hoogleraar in het Arabisch en de Instellingen van den Islam aan de Rijks-universiteit te Leiden op 9 Februari 1940 door Dr. J. H. Kramers. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940. pp. 32.

This is a belated notice of the Inaugural Address of Dr. J. H. Kramers delivered on the occasion of his succession to the Chair of Arabic and Islamics at the University of Leiden, the Chair that was first held early in the seventeenth century by Thomas Erpenius, and in which he is the successor to such famous scholars as De Goeje, Snouck Hurgronje and A. J. Wensinck. We must blame war conditions in Europe for this not having reached us earlier. It calls for mention in *THE MUSLIM WORLD* if only for the fact that it opens with a reference to the meeting of Snouck Hurgronje with our Dr. Zwemer during the Dutch scholar's visit to New York.

The subject is not, as might at first be suggested by the title, a discussion of the vocabulary or the style of the Qur'ān, but is an account of how the language of Muḥammad's Qur'ān became the language of a world culture, and some of the problems that arise in the attempt to estimate the linguistic significance of the language. In particular the author is interested in the way in which the grammatical study of Arabic developed among the Muslims themselves, and the problems which this suggests to the modern linguist. The importance of the Arabic language for all Islamic studies is so great that it might be a wise move to publish in our Quarterly an English translation of Dr. Kramers' address so as to have its message reach a wider audience of those interested in Islam.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

New York City

Ibn Maskawaih: A study of his AL-FAUZ AL-ASGHAR. By Khwaja Abdul Hamid, M.A. Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946. 130 pp. Rs. 2-8.

Ibn Maskawaih, more usually known to the world of History than to that of Philosophy, predeceased the great al-Ghazali by some eighty years. This means in the opinion of our author that he also "anticipated" him in "the facility of philosophical expression." Justice therefore to his philosophical stature if belated is sincere—albeit there is but one philosophical work extant, his "smaller work on Salvation," which is the subject of this book. The Essay is divided into two parts, following the Introduction. Part 1 deals with the three major problems of *Al-Fauz al-Asghar* (i) The Proof of the Maker, (ii) the Soul and its States and (iii) Prophet-hood. In good, clear style (and equally good, clear printing), with Arabic words when necessary ("spiritual truths" is a very happy rendering of *ma'qu:la:t*) Ibn Maskawaih's theories are expounded. In this section there is more of the philosopher than of his interpreter. In Part ii we move with the interpreter to a discussion of

the "Philosophical Standpoint." It is probably the final section in each part which will be of most interest. After all the fact of the Divine Existence has been thought through time and again. There is probably less need still in the Orient than in the Occident to prove that "God is." One of the first memories the Reviewer has of Canon Gairdner twenty-eight years ago was his objection to the inclusion in a book being brought out by one of the Mission presses of its English Introduction on the ground that Islam needed no proofs of the Existence of God. The Chapter that follows on the development of the "soul" is worth while; whose final stage is the coalescence of perfect knowledge with perfect action. This leads on to the discussion of "Prophethood," where Mr. Abdul Hamid states that the "Muslim" in Ibn Maskawaih "overshadows the Aristotelian." If it may be permitted, it is this material on the "Prophet" which will be found the most profitable! There is the difference between the "prophet appointed" by God and the prophet not so appointed: in his differentiation between the "nabi" and the "kahin" Ibn Maskawaih goes back to Muhammad and the Qur'an. The ultimate stage is reached by the "man of inspiration." There is a quotation from the Fourth Gospel, though it is not clear whether the origin of this quotation is the Author or his Interpreter. It seems to us somewhat strange that the Interpreter should not have penetrated deeper into the doctrine of "descent" and discussed similarities, comparisons, contrasts in this connection between Islam and Christianity. "The prophet descends to the lower plane for the good of the latter." This comes remarkably near "Incarnation." We cannot help wishing that further studies of Ibn Maskawaih might be unearthed. He seems to have been one of those Muslim scholars—all too few—who were capable of appreciating some Christian verities. But the day is not too late; and if the concluding sentences of this treatise are true—"Prophethood cannot be aped nor can the prophet be concealed from mankind"—then why might not thinkers of intellectual integrity in Pakistan, Muslim and Christian, meet for mutual discussion on this matter of "Descent" and "Incarnation" and perchance other important doctrines of Christianity, which for all these centuries have been all too seriously misunderstood.

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Jerusalem

Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs: Studies in a Muhammadan Village in Palestine. By Hilma Granqvist, Ph.D. Helsingfors, Soderstrom & Co., 1947. pp. 289.

In his book on the *Present Position of Anthropological Studies*, Radcliffe-Brown remarks: "The study of the beliefs and customs of the native peoples, with the aim, not of merely reconstructing their history, but of discovering their meaning, their function, that is, the place they occupy in the mental, moral and social life, can afford great help to the missionary. . . ."

The present study of childhood in a Palestine village, by Hilma Granqvist, is a perfect example of excellent work on these lines. She is already known for anthropological research from her earlier books, in Finnish and English, on *Marriage Conditions in a Pales-*

tine Village (2 vols., 1931, 1935). This study is the first part of a larger work on "*Child Problems Among Muhammadan Arabs*" to be published later.

After a brief introduction indicating the village of Artas near Jerusalem, as center of her field-work, her contact with its people for six years (1925-1931), and her indebtedness to Arabic and European writers, seven chapters deal with these topics: Pre-natal Customs, Birth, Post-natal Customs, Mother and Babe, Play and Work, Education and Character, and Circumcision. There is a final section entitled, "Parallels and Remarks" (pp. 211-288) containing notes, bibliography and Scripture references. This is invaluable to all Bible students and the author rightly states (p. 17) that we have no good monograph on Birth and Childhood in the Scriptures. Unfortunately her large collection of photographs could not be used for illustrations due to cost of printing. The volume offers a wealth of detailed information not easily accessible elsewhere and much of which is unknown to the average traveler and observer. In many cases the author has penetrated more deeply into the structure of family-life, its obligations and relationships, than previous writers; although she is quite familiar with the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; the Traditions, Westermarck, Goldziher, Lane, Burton, etc.

We note a few Arabic errors in transcription and her knowledge of the *aqīqa* sacrifice and *qarīna* is very defective. She defines the latter (p. 96) as "the special woman enemy of women and small children" instead of giving the Qur'an references and the popular idea of a double-soul in Islam. *Every* Muslim has his or her *qarīna*. The chapters on Play and Work as well as that on Education are of exceeding interest and show what only an accurate observer would note.

This study is indispensable to all who work among Muslim women and children. In spite of the impact of the West, old customs persist and the sub-soil of Islam lies undisturbed by the modern plow-share of materialism. Determinism and not free-will is still everyday philosophy (pp. 171-180). "A woman from Artas went one morning with tomatoes to the market in Bethlehem. In order to get a really good position and thus a better price, she started out earlier than any one else in the village. What happened? The basket of tomatoes fell from her head. She was delayed for she had to stop and pick up the tomatoes. When she arrived late at the market all the other women were already there. And more than that. She now had bad tomatoes; they were sandy and somewhat broken from the fall."

"The lot which falls to a person, *that* he receives and nothing else. He himself can do nothing either for or against it. In small things as in great, man is absolutely subject to Fate: *qism*, *naṣīb*. Even his deeds and the way in which he acts are decided beforehand." Unfortunately a volume so full of facts and references has no index.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

New York City

Aden to the Hadhramaut: A Journey in South Arabia. By D. Van der Meulen, with foreword by Sir Bernard Reilly, K.C.M.G., Governor of Aden. London, John Murray, 1947. pp. 254, with 92 illustrations and map. 18s.

Colonel Van der Meulen, the Dutch explorer, was for some years representative of the Netherlands at Jiddah. A pupil of Snouck Hurgronje, he is versed in Arabic and knows the Arabs. More recently he was stationed at Batavia, and knows the close relationships of the Hadhramaut to Java through Arab intercourse and intermarriage. He was awarded the Patron's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society for journeys in South Arabia in 1931 and the one described in this volume in 1939. His contributions to the geography, archaeology, and ethnography of Hadhramaut put him in the rank of the Bents, Bertram Thomas, St. John Philby and Freya Stark. In fact the latter two owe him much as a predecessor in cartography (p. 147). Van der Meulen's expedition, at the opening of World War II, included three German companions and is therefore the more remarkable as a tribute to his wise diplomacy and high Christian character. Like Doughty and Bertram Thomas he was never ashamed of being a Christian among fanatic Arabs. In full sympathy with the work of Ingrams and the progress of peace, road building and order among the tribes, he came not as visitor but explorer and mapped new territory beyond the Wady Huweira to the rim of "the Empty Quarter." From this northern limit at Bir Tamiz his route was southward through Shibām and Tarim to the coast at Mukalla. The small map is a mere sketch and not of great help to the reader. But the photographic illustrations are superb.

From the first chapter, telling of a Difficult Start, to the twenty-first describing the Builders of a New Hadhramaut, the reader is spellbound. What is it that transfers all the charm of the desert and the Arab to the pages of Doughty, Freya Stark and Van der Meulen—the latter writing in a language not his own?

Aside from his keen interpretation of Arab life, both nomad and that in the skyscraper towns of the Javanese-educated Arabs, Van der Meulen recognizes the spiritual forces of Islam (pp. 161, 179, 186, 232). He writes "Young Tarim had inscribed the Islamization of the bedouin on its standard and had built small schools and mosques in distant bedouin centers. The arrival of the British had given new impetus to proselytism of the Faith among the bedouin." This thirteen centuries after Muhammad's mission! One is impressed with the variety of Arab life and culture in so small an area. Yet "the term Hadhramaut, as now used, comprises three distinct regions: the coastal strip with the ports of Mukalla and Ash Shihr, the Jōl and the Wadi Hadhramaut proper with its attendant wadis. It is divided into two sultanates which in turn have their own more or less independent beduin tribal chiefs and their men-in-authority in the villages and towns. The Āl Qa'eiti Sultan, who resides in Mukalla, administers the coastal territory, the adjacent jols and the greater part of the Hadhramaut proper. The Kathīri State lies like an island within the surrounding Qa'eiti territory. Saiwun and Tarim are the chief towns of the Kathīri island. The chief Qa'eiti town of the Wadi Hadhramaut is Shibam with Al Qatn and Haura next in importance." And we learn once more, from good authority, why this part of Arabia differs from its other provinces, even the

Yemen, so astonishingly. "No one in our caravan [starting from Aden] had seen the Hadhramaut. Many of them had not even heard the name until recently when news of Ingrams' peace had quickly spread from tribe to tribe. They knew not that the Hadhramis had been originally as poor as they themselves but that they had taken the risk of leaving their native wadi or jol and faring overseas to the rich lands of Zanzibar, India and Java. Arriving poor, many of them had grown rich there, some very rich. With money they had earned abroad they built in their own Wadi Hadhramaut those palaces, mosques and summer-residences that have no equal in the whole of Arabia."

Everywhere among the inland tribes Van der Meulen heard high praise of what the British had done for peace and progress. The methods of Ingrams for pacification by severe bomb-punishment of refractory villages was severely criticized by St. John Philby. It is justified in this volume, and the evidence is nearly convincing. The political pages are, however, few. It is the Arab that occupies the center of the stage. His daily life, the camel, the caravans, the desert, its flora and fauna, the sunsets and the scenery of high mountains, bleak deserts and fruitful oases, irrigation-channels—all these are found in text and illustration. There is a full glossary of Arabic words. Indeed, except for the ever-present problem of Arabic transliteration with its pitfalls and the failure to italicize Arabic words in the text, there is little to criticize in this great guide-book to unknown Hadhramaut.

S. M. ZWEMER

New York City

Twin Rivers: A brief history of Iraq from the earliest times to the present day.
By Seton Lloyd. Bombay, Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1947, pp. 229 with maps and illustrations.

The author is known as archaeologist and excavator as well as from his earlier books, *Mesopotamia* (1936) and *Ruined Cities of Iraq* (1942). It was a *tour de force* to put into these few pages a history of one of the oldest centers of civilization from Ur and Abraham to Allenby and Churchill. The author has succeeded in crowding facts, tables, dates, and dynasties into small compass without sacrificing the reader's interest. The present volume is the 2nd edition; the first was dated Baghdad, 1943. It falls into two well-nigh equal parts. Seven chapters deal with Mesopotamia before the Arab conquest and are chiefly of interest to archaeologists. The other four (pp. 140-226) concern those interested in Islam and the events of the twentieth century in the land of the Twin Rivers. Here the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Hogarth, Hitti, Gertrude Bell and George Antonius. I know of no more coherent and dispassionate account of Iraq during World War I than is here given in such brief compass. The Iraq Museum charts, the list of the Caliphates, the genealogical tables, the few but unusual illustrations and maps, with a select bibliography, enhance the value of this ideal handbook for traveler and resident.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

New York City

History of the Islamic Peoples. By Carl Brockelmann, with a Review of Events, 1939-1947 by Moshe Perlmann, translated by Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann, illustrated with 8 Maps. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947. Published and distributed in the Public Interest by Authority of the Alien Property Custodian, under License No. A-704. 8vo. xx, 582 pp.

The welcome extended to the original German edition of this work will be more than gladly extended to this edition in English, in spite of the rather poor English diction of a good deal of the translation. Its author's name is already associated with two great standard works of reference, one in Semitic Philology and another in Arabic Literature and it seems likely that this volume will also long remain a standard work of reference to which students are referred as a solid introduction to Islamic history.

Its title in English suggests something a little more extensive than the book really is. Perhaps it could best be described as a history of the Caliphate. It is not just a history of the Arabs, though that necessarily has a prominent place in it, but includes the history of the Turks, Persians, Kurds, Egyptians, Berbers, in so far as their history is connected with the Islamic empire under the Caliphate. It does not, however, include more than occasional reference to the history and achievements of the Islamic communities in India and further East, nor those Islamic communities which have grown up in various parts of Africa south of the Mediterranean coastal lands. These are Islamic peoples, and their contribution to the total history of Islam has not been inconsiderable, but they have had little concern with the formal history of the Caliphate. The limitation to the great lands of the Caliphate was also apparently due to a desire to limit the story to those areas of the Islamic Empire where the author could control the sources at first hand.

The work is unique in its field, both because of the author's mastery of the material, and because of his judicious handling of the numerous questions where there is still controversy among the experts. Moreover he has not let it become a mere recital of historical events, but has been interested in the movements of thought and the development of culture in Islam, which are equally important to the student. One of the problems of such a work is always that of condensation. To compress material that would suffice for several volumes into the compass of a single book demands no small skill, and while many specialists will doubtless feel aggrieved that their special period has received so little attention, one must admit that the author has succeeded remarkably well in giving a balanced treatment. His own enthusiasm seems to be for the Turkish period, but that has not led him to pay it disproportionate attention.

Probably the interest of most readers will be in the modern period, so that almost a third of the book is devoted to the nineteenth century and afterwards. In the original the story was carried up to 1939. To bring it completely up to date one of the translators has added a summary of important events that have taken place in or have notably affected these sections of the Islamic world between 1939 and 1947. There are very good chronological tables appended to the history, but these go only as far as 1918. The Bibliography has also been brought up to date, and is very good, save that it is rather ridiculous to see listed in a work of this nature titles which have an explanatory note (in Hebrew).

The publisher has spared no effort in order to give the volume a worthy appearance. Our sole complaint is that the folding Maps of the original have had to be reduced in size and printed without shading. The nomenclature of the Maps, however, has been changed to the customary English forms, and this is helpful when the book is to be used by students.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

New York City

Constitutions, Electoral Laws, Treaties of States in the Near and Middle East. Edited, with Introduction, by Helen Miller Davis, and Foreword by Boris Mirkine-Guetzevitch. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1947. pp. xx, 446. \$5.00.

The States of the Near and Middle East are very much in the spotlight today. They will probably be the scene of gigantic diplomatic if not military struggles during the remainder of the twentieth century. Students and others working in the field of the history and international relations of these ten states (Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Palestine, Turkey, Afghanistan) will find this to be a most useful book.

This is obviously a book of reference and as such it will be tested by use for its accuracy and completeness. Specialists in constitutional law and political science will be grateful for the careful work of the editor covering an almost unmanageable variety of texts, now verified, brought up to date and completed. The volume lacks an index but the carefully detailed table of contents satisfactorily meets the need. Indeed, if an index were prepared in the usual way it would probably be less useful than the table of contents. An illustration of the care and concern of the editor is the list on pp. 443-446 of the topics of the most important foot notes. In the absence of an index this list is of great importance.

The book is divided into two very unequal parts: Part I, States in the Near and Middle East—392 pages of texts of constitutions, electoral laws and other basic documents; Part II, Multilateral Treaties and Agreements—48 pages of texts dealing with international relations not only of the ten Near and Middle East States among themselves, but of those States with other powers. Thirty-two pages of Part II contain the text of the Charter of the United Nations. Of the Near and Middle East States the representatives of Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Turkey signed the charter which was duly ratified by their governments. Afghanistan being a neutral in World War II was not represented at San Francisco but was admitted to membership by vote of the Assembly November 19, 1946. Transjordan, formerly under mandate, was later admitted. The Status of Palestine still remains somewhat obscure.

It is extremely convenient and useful to have at hand within the pages of one volume verified texts of such documents as the Statement of the Fundamental Principles of the Government of Afghanistan, the Loi Electorale of Egypt, the Fundamental Laws of Iran, the Constitution of Iraq, the Constitution of the Lebanese Republic together with its official amendments, the Balfour Declaration regarding Palestine (have any other sixty-seven English words ever given rise to comparable debates!), the Constitution of

the Hejaz, the Constitution and the Electoral Law of the State of Syria, the Organic Law of Transjordan, the 1936 Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits. These and many other basic documents are here most carefully edited. Scholars will probably miss some texts, especially some antedating World War I, but no one can deny that this collection preserves reasonable limits and has been prepared with the utmost care. Mrs. Miller states that she has been at work on it for fifteen years! The result of her labour is worthy of great praise.

FRED FIELD GOODSSELL

Boston, Mass.

Ta'rikh al-Sha'b al-Amriki. (History of the American People.) By Farhat Ziadeh and Ibrahim Freiji, with an introduction by Professor Philip K. Hitti. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1946. pp. 346. (Printed at the American Press, Beirut, Lebanon.)

In the introduction, Prof. Hitti, himself an American from the background of the Arab world, reminds the reader of the American doctors, teachers, and missionaries who began to introduce Arabic speaking peoples to the culture of America more than a century ago. Then, following the first World War, the United States added to her educational and medical services such humanitarian projects as that of the Near East Foundation. Then in the fourth decade of this century the American oil companies began major operations in this area. So now many Americans are interested in Arab civilization. On the other hand many from Arab lands, estimated now at a quarter of a million, have found in America a new homeland for themselves and their children.

This history of the American people claims to be the first full-length history of the United States ever to be written in Arabic. It is not a translation but an original work, "written by Arabic scholars at Princeton University under a project established by the Department of State through the agency of the American University of Beirut."

The book is written in the style of newspaper Arabic and makes its appeal to the general reader. The text is divided into four principal sections which deal with the beginnings of the American people; secondly, the beginnings of the American nation (from the ratifying of the Constitution through the Civil War); thirdly, the development of the American Nation, which covers such varied subjects as economic advance, industry, labor problems, new immigration, the settlement of the Trans-Mississippi country, agriculture, the period of reform, literature and the fine arts, and education; and finally, America in great international conflicts, which treats largely of the American expansion following the Spanish-American War under Theodore Roosevelt, and America in the two World Wars under the guidance of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Because the book attempts a history of the development of the American people, the emphasis is on social, economic and political developments rather than wars and military strategy, and the chronology of Presidential administrations.

However, one is surprised that a history of the American people can be written without a reference to Daniel Webster, Stephen A.

Douglas and William H. Seward. Booker T. Washington and Eugene V. Debs are not mentioned, but Mark Twain, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, John L. Lewis and James J. Hill are.

Many misconceptions of American life are evident in the pages of this book. The passing of the 1887 law for breaking up Indian reservations did not solve by any means the question of fair treatment for the original inhabitants of America (p. 207).

The criticism of the church in the nineteenth century as being concerned only with saving souls from hell overlooks the part played by the church in combatting slavery and intemperance (p. 253).

From the reference to the spread of education for women on p. 267, one might think that the Universities of Utah and Iowa were functioning shortly after 1833.

There are some errors that are plainly typographical. On p. 55, in speaking of the action of the Continental Congress in declaring independence, the year should be 1776 instead of 1676. The date for the completion of the Panama Canal is given on p. 295 as 1923 instead of 1913. The formal opening, however, was in August 1914.

On p. 76 the impression is given that Thomas Jefferson was actually in the President's chair in 1800, whereas he did not take office until March 4, 1801.

Thirty-six photographs illustrate personalities and incidents in our history, as well as phases of present-day America. Unfortunately, a picture of military maneuvers is labeled "Games showing life among cowboys."

It is regrettable that the index at the close of the book was not compiled by some one better acquainted with American places and personalities. Charleston, South Carolina, is listed, but another Charleston with seven references is also given, although the city indicated in each case is Charleston, South Carolina (p. 334). Another example is the listing of Emerson three times—as Emerson, Ralph Emerson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson (p. 330). On the other hand, references to the city of Cleveland, Ohio, and Grover Cleveland the President, are listed under the one heading, Cleveland (p. 340).

The problem of translating or transliterating technical terms from English to Arabic is largely solved by transliteration. Federalist is Arabicized, while Confederate is translated i'tilāfiya. Such words as Transcendentalism and Pragmatism, Standard Oil and Populist, must be very disconcerting for people with no English background. Even those with a secondary education might have considerable difficulty in knowing what the Arabic letters spell. The question arises whether it would not be better for such words to be printed in brackets in English, for most of the readers probably know some European language and would get an idea how the unvowelled Arabic is to be pronounced. For example, the word "Trust" which is more often transliterated "trūst" (but on p. 337, "trust") certainly does not have the long vowel, ū. However, from the Arabic letters the uninitiated reader might easily say for "al-trust," "alter-west," "al-true-sit," or "al-truest." The reviewer is reminded of a learned graduate of Al-Azhar who was reading the society notes in an Arabic paper and insisted that at a party some people had played "bardag." Only after some pondering of the

letters did one realize that a game of bridge was being reported. If the reader of Arabic is expected to approximate the pronunciation of the foreign words, either new vowel signs will need to be invented or the foreign words must be spelled in Roman letters as well as in Arabic.

As in most American histories, the settlement of North America by groups who emigrated from Europe to escape religious, political and economic persecution is emphasized (p. 19). It would have been well had the authors in relating the story of the adoption of the Constitution told of the adoption in 1791 of the first ten amendments which are in fact our Bill of Rights. For lands struggling with the question of freedom of speech and religion there is wise counsel in such statements as, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances" (First Amendment).

While the book gives a general description of the expansion of thirteen small colonies into the wealthiest nation in the world, with its remarkable technical and cultural development, it does not adequately present the problems that face American political life today. One lays the book down unaware that many of the great cities of the United States have often been imperiled by corrupt politicians, and suffered enormous scandals of mismanagement.

However, the national loyalties of European origin do not play at all the prominent part in American public affairs that one might suppose. The greater emphasis is on the competing ideas which divide capital and labor, socialist and conservative attitudes and Democrats and Republicans. American democracy remains an experiment, and for that very reason the people of the United States enjoy the freedom to criticize and correct their government.

Special mention is made of the Syrian immigration into America (pp. 195f) which assures the Arab people that they too have helped make America. Little attention is paid to the much greater influx of peoples from Italy, Greece, Poland, and Eastern Europe. The Arab reader gets no inkling of the size and importance of Jewish immigration into the United States. There is in this book no suggestion of the tremendous influence exercised by Jewish interests in America. The Arab today is wondering how the United States with its democratic ideals and its championship of liberty for all peoples can favor the partition of Palestine. Perhaps no logical explanation can be given. Unfortunately, this book, even though sponsored by the State Department, fails to give the whole picture so that one may appreciate fully the tensions and pretensions of America; the tensions that disrupt and the pretensions that fail to be realized. It is still the world's melting pot and the cauldron boils.

E. E. ELDER

Cairo, Egypt

The Land of Sheba, a Collection of the folklore and legends of the Jews of Yemen. Edited by S. D. Goitein. New York, Schocken, 1947. pp. 122. \$1.50.

This is the third of a series of five booklets presenting certain literature from Judaism in an attractive form. S. D. Goitein, Lec-

turer in Islamics at the Hebrew University and Senior Education Officer of the Palestine Government, through intimate contact with the communities of Jews from al-Yemen who are now resident in Palestine, has gathered and translated under the three general headings, *Life, Entertainment and Education*, and *the Past*, one hundred and twenty-one short pieces, each of which, in its own way, presents its picture of the mind of the Yemenite Jew. The sources of the stories are noted in the table of contents, leaving the body of the book free from foot notes. Each tale is introduced with a few lines to explain the social and literary setting; and a preface of three pages introducing the remote world of al-Yemen adds to the interest of the book.

Al-Yemen is prettily woven into Arabic literature; is it not orthodox to begin one's studies by reading the tale of Bilqis, Queen of Sheba? The land itself is, in recent years, coming into the knowledge of the western world. "The oldest Jewish community in the world" is here and there in the foot-notes of the standard histories of Judaism. None lives long in Jerusalem without making the practical acquaintance of some Yemeni tinker or craftsman. But, in spite of all this, neither the fifteen hundred years of their continuous history nor their quality of mind has been sufficiently studied. We are grateful to Professor Goitein for presenting a little picture of their world.

To the student of Islam, this book offers subtle contrasts. Some of the tales and sayings obviously have a common origin with corresponding matter familiar in Arabic. Nevertheless, there is both a plaintive quality and an insight into faith which I do not think are often found in Islam.

Every one who goes to Jerusalem, and those few more highly privileged persons who go to San'a, should read this booklet; many others, armchair nomads, will enjoy it too.

MOSES BAILEY

Hartford, Conn.

Frammenti Coranicti in Carattere Cufico Nella Biblioteca Vaticana: (Codici Vaticani Arabi 1605 e 1606). Di Giorgio Levi della Vida. Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947. pp. xi, 57, with XX Plates.

It is remarkable how many important contributions to Islamic Studies have appeared in recent years from the Vatican City. In our own field of quranic studies we had scarcely finished digesting the important studies of Father Beck in the recent volumes of *Orientalia*, when there appeared this Vol. 132 of *Studi e Testi* with Prof. Levi della Vida's detailed descriptions of the quranic fragments in the Vatican Library. In a sense it is an Appendix to his *Elenco* of 1935. In that he gave brief descriptions of the collections of Islamic MSS. in the Vatican, and this is a detailed treatment of one group of those MSS.

One hardly needs emphasize how important productions of this kind are. It is only by publishing such minute, accurate descriptions of the oldest fragments of quranic MSS. that now lie hidden in the various Libraries and private collections of the West and of the Islamic Orient, that we shall gradually build up a Corpus of material on the basis of which it may be possible to arrive at reliable criteria for the dating of our early quranic Codices, and solving

many problems in connection with the early history of the quranic text.

The present contribution is a model of what such descriptions should be. The author describes in great detail the palaeographical features of each of his fragments, lists the variants in division and verse numbering, the peculiarities of orthography, the textual variants, the rubrics, etc., using the Standard Egyptian text, that is, the form of Ḥaṣṣ tradition which has become for all practical purposes the *Textus Receptus* of Islam, as his basis for comparison. To this he has added twenty magnificent plates, which tell more than pages of description.

It is devoutly to be hoped that many other collections of such Quranic material may be published in similar fashion, and, thus bring appreciably nearer the day when we can speak with some confidence of a critical text of the Qur'ān.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

New York City

A Koran szemelvényekben. Arabbol fordította, bevezette és jegyzetekkel ellátta, Dr. Hollosi Somogyi József. Budapest, 1947. pp. 94.

The Muslim community in Hungary may not be a very important one, but Islamic studies have a long and honourable tradition in that country. No reader of THE MUSLIM WORLD needs to be reminded of the distinguished contributions to Islamic studies made by such Hungarian scholars as Arminius Vambéry or Ignaz Goldziher, in whose succession Dr. Josef de Somogyi stands.

As early as 1831 a Hungarian translation of the Qur'ān was made by two County Judges at Kaschau in Czechoslovakia, Emory Buziday Szedmajer and George Gedeon, and the 1854 edition of their work has found mention in the Bibliographies. Their translation, however, as they themselves state, was made from the Latin of Marraccius, and not from the original Arabic. About 1915 Dr. Endrei Gerzson made a translation of the Quranic passages included in Nallino's *Chrestomathia coranica*, to be published as Nos. 462, 463 of the booklet Series *Modern Könyvtár*. Some Sūras were also translated in 1904 by Aladár Hornyánszky, a Professor in the Lutheran Seminary at Pozsony, to be published in Vol. I of Goldziher's *Egyetemes irodalomtörténet*. In the present volume Dr. de Somogyi has made another selection of Suras which he translates with introduction and brief notes as parts 90 and 91 of the booklet Series *Officina Könyvtár*. He has included all the Suras in the Gerzson booklet, but has added others, particularly sections of some of the longer Suras.

His Introduction discusses Arabia and the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, to give the setting of the Qur'ān, then tells of Muḥammad and his mission, the process whereby the Qur'ān was compiled, a brief account of the style and content of the Qur'ān, and finally some account of his predecessors in this task of translating the Qur'ān into Magyar. Probably few of our readers have any acquaintance with Hungarian, but it is of interest to us to record this latest addition to our already considerable list of translations of the sacred Scripture of Islam.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

New York City

CURRENT TOPICS

American University of Beirut New President

Dr. Stephen B. L. Penrose, Jr. will succeed Dr. Bayard Dodge as president of the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, Harold B. Hoskins, president of the Board of Trustees, announced at the offices of the Near East College Association, 46 Cedar St., New York City.

Dr. Dodge's retirement this June after twenty-five years of service as president of America's largest overseas university was made public last September upon his return to the United States to assist with the fund appeal for the Near East Colleges. The American University of Beirut is one of eight affiliated colleges providing American education in six Near East nations.

Dr. Penrose becomes the fourth president of the American University of Beirut, founded in 1866 as Syrian Protestant College. The University, with its preparatory school, International College, has an enrollment of 2500 students representing 40 nationalities and 30 religious sects.

In accepting the presidency, Dr. Penrose returns to the Near East, where he began his professional career in 1928 as instructor in physics at Beirut. Back in the United States he became instructor and later dean of men at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. He then was appointed professor of philosophy and psychology at Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.

In 1938 he was named assistant director of the Near East College Assn., New York City, where he was editor of the "Near East Service" and was the author of "That They May Have Life," a history of the American University of Beirut, published by the Princeton University Press in 1941.

Medical Missionary Service in Arabia

During a tour of eight months in Riyadh and Taif of Saudi Arabia Dr. Harold W. Storm, of the Arabian Mission, and his associates treated a total of 29,559 cases, making 2782 outcalls and performing 1617 (527 major) operations.

In a circular letter dated November 30, 1947, Dr. and Mrs. Storm say: "Another milestone was added to the history of the Arabian Mission when we came over to Qatar and on November 22nd took over from Shaikh Hamid a lovely little hospital he had built for us right down on the sea. It has room for twenty patients, has an operating unit and good space for a clinic. The whole is built around a courtyard. We are tremendously pleased. Now the Shaikh is going to build a second story which for the present we will use as quarters for the doctor and staff and servants. Six years ago a frightful smallpox epidemic raged in Qatar. We vaccinated 1200 members of the ruling family, then asked for permission to go to the villages that were being decimated by the disease. The Shaikh replied, 'You have vaccinated the royal family; it is enough.' God still works miracles; we praise Him and go forward."

Government and Religion in Islam

From *The Light*, Lahore, of October 24, 1947, we quote editorial comment on an address by Muhammad Asad, formerly known also as Leopold Weiss. From the same issue part of the address mentioned is also quoted. The address and the comment reflect majority and minority opinion about the proper relationship of government and religion in Islamdom.

"While thoroughly realizing the need of the revival of true Islamic thought and life among Muslims, we doubt the wisdom of making a sacred cause like this the subject-matter of a regular Government Department, as done by the West Punjab Government with Allama Mohd Asad, the well-known Austrian Muslim and writer as its Director.

"Islam stands above everything—above Kings and Governments and potentates. It is for these latter to stand at the door of Islam to seek light and guidance. To make religion the hand maid of the State is a Christian idea. In Islam the Qazi has always been independent of the ruler and the mightiest of rulers trembled in their shoes at appearance in the Courts of Qazis.

"For a man of the scholarship of Allama Asad to take his religious inspiration from men like Mamdot and Shaukat and the rest of the team is a perversion of true values. As a Department of the Government, the Islamic Reconstruction Department cannot, by the very nature of things, be independent in spirit and must take note of the whims and vagaries of the ministries that come and ministries that go. . . .

"We believe Allama Asad can do much more for the reconstruction of the thought and life of Islam in Pakistan as an independent man, free from any official trammels. Besides, it is a dangerous precedent to tie up religion to the chariot wheel of the State. To departmentalize a thing of Divine origin is to stifle the very life breath of it."

"In the following broadcast speech from Pakistan Radio, Lahore, Mr. Muhammad Asad, Director, Islamic Reconstruction Department, West Punjab Government, explained the aims and functions of this newly-created Department.

"In view of the great changes, both physical and spiritual, which the Muslim Millat in our country is undergoing in these days, the Government have found it advisable to create a new department which would deal with certain problems arising from those changes. The ultimate aim of this department is, to help our community to reconstruct its life on Islamic lines, and therefore it has been named Department of Islamic Reconstruction. It is for the first time, I believe, that the word "Islam" has appeared in the designation of any Government Department in this country. The departure from all previous governmental traditions evident therein is so great that a few words of explanations are due to the public before we start our work.

"As all of you know, our struggle for the attainment of Pakistan has been fought on an ideological platform. We have maintained, and we do maintain today, that we Muslims are a nation by virtue of our adherence to Islam. To us, religion is not merely a set of beliefs and moral rules but a code of practical behaviour as well.

Contrary to almost all other religions Islam does not content itself with influencing the life of the spirit alone, but aims also at shaping all the physical aspects of our life in accordance with the Islamic world-view. In the grand scheme propounded to us in the Quran and in the life-example of the Holy Prophet, all the various aspects of human existence—moral and physical, spiritual and intellectual, individual and communal—have been taken into consideration as part of the indivisible whole which we call "human life." It follows, therefore, that we can not live a truly Islamic life by merely holding Islamic beliefs. We must do far more than that. If Islam is not to remain an empty word, we must co-ordinate our outward behaviour, individually and socially, with the beliefs we profess to hold.

"This peculiar aspect of Islam, well-known to everyone who has the slightest acquaintance with its principles, is the foundation on which we base our claim to an independent State of our own, for it is only within the framework of an independent State, endowed with all the paraphernalia of government, law and social organization that the scheme of Islam can be brought to practical fulfilment. It is because of this ideal that we have struggled for an independent Pakistan and have undergone and are still undergoing, sufferings greater than any other nation had to bear in modern times. And it may well be that our sufferings are so great because our aims were so high. Indeed, in a world ruled by concepts of nationalism on racial or purely cultural lines, the concept of an ideological State is so unique, so out of all proportion with what the rest of the world regards as "modern" and desirable, that we were bound to encounter the most formidable opposition. For, most of the people in our time have grown accustomed to look upon racial affinities and historical traditions as the only legitimate basis of nationhood: while we on the other hand, regard an ideological community—a community of people having a definite scale of moral values in common—as the highest form of nationhood to which man could aspire. We make this claim not only because we are convinced that our particular ideology, Islam, is a message from God Himself, but also because our reason tells us that a community based on ideas held in common is far more advanced manifestation of human life than a community resulting from accidents of race or language or geographical location.

"This, as I have said, is not a view commonly held in our days, for most of our contemporaries in other countries are still entangled in the old-fashioned, nationalist aspirations and prejudices evolved in past centuries—aspirations and prejudices which are largely responsible for the chaos in which the world finds itself today. It is not for us, the Millat of Islam, to follow this path of chaos, and so, obeying the eternal call of Islam, we have embarked on the great experiment of creating an ideological State.

"What we desire is a free society open to all who believe in our ideology, as well as to all those who do not believe in it from the religious point of view but are nevertheless willing to co-operate with us in giving it a trial. This is a very important point, and I would request our non-Muslim citizens to give it the consideration it deserves. We are an open society—that is to say, we do not restrict social co-operation, with all the benefits of full citizenship accruing therefrom, to members of the Muslim community alone. We shall

welcome the co-operation of every citizen, Muslim and non-Muslim, who is prepared to work with us on the basis of the Constitution which Pakistan's Constituent Assembly will be called upon to evolve in the near future. All that this State demands of its citizens is active loyalty towards the constitution; and loyalty will be the only criterion of a good citizen, whether it be the result of religious belief or of a commonsense acceptance of the social ideology agreed upon by the majority of the citizens.

"For, naturally, the main burden of framing our Constitution will fall upon the shoulders of the Muslims. It is they who form the overwhelming majority in this country, and it is they who are the torchbearers of the ideology for the sake of which Pakistan has been established. And it is the Muslim community as a whole, and not only the members of the Constituent Assembly, who will be ultimately responsible for the quality of our Constitution. There can be no greater mistake than to believe that a successful Constitution could be evolved in a vacuum, as it were, by a limited group of people chosen for this purpose by the Legislative Assemblies. Though, undoubtedly, it will be these representatives of ours who will be entrusted with the actual task of formulating the laws and clauses of which the Constitution will be composed, their endeavours cannot possibly bear the desired results unless they are supported and backed by the will of a united nation. And our nation cannot become really united, and cannot achieve that singleness of purpose so essential for the Muslim Millat, unless and until we overcome that shameful confusion and demoralization, that loss of faith and of social integrity, that moral corruption which seems to have become our portion during the recent weeks and months. And this is where the new Department of Islamic Reconstruction comes in.

"I should like to make it clear that this Department, of which I have the honour to be the head, does not arrogate to itself the right to intrude upon the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly. All that we are expected to do—all that we can legitimately do—is to help the community to co-ordinate its spiritual and intellectual resources, and to revive the moral strength of which the Millat must be capable by virtue of its being the Millat of Islam: in other words, to help the Millat to re-create the Islamic atmosphere so necessary for a revival of Islamic life in its practical aspects."

✱ Dean Edward Warren Capen ✱

1870-1947

Dean Capen, founder and dean of the Kennedy School of Missions, lived in two periods of modern missions. In his student days he felt the urgency of the great call, "Evangelization of the World in this Generation," which sent young men into many parts of the world with the gospel message. The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh led him into the second period, which broadened the message and urged a special preparation for the messenger.

Dean Capen's preparation to be a teacher of missionaries began

in his home. His father, Samuel B. Capen, President of the American Board, was a Boston business man who regarded business as furnishing the means for social and religious work. His mother, who lived to the great age of 96, made her home a center of hospitality and prayer for missionaries. Amherst, Hartford Theological Seminary, and Columbia University contributed to his insights and professional skills. In 1904 he married Lydia Elizabeth Sanderson of Cleveland. Their home became a center for missionaries from many parts of the world. From 1907-'09 they visited missions in Asia and Africa. Dr. Capen supplemented his extensive researches in missions by observing the missionary at work.

On his return from abroad, he entered into work for the World Missionary Conference. Dr. William Douglas Mackenzie, President of Hartford Theological Seminary, was chairman of Commission V dealing with "Special Missionary Preparation." Dr. Capen assisted him, analyzed the replies to the questionnaires from American sources, and helped to formulate the report. From the report of this Commission and of Commission X, which deals with the relation of the Christian Mission to the other religions of the world, grew the modern movement of special training for the missionary. From the Edinburgh Conference emerged a new approach to missionary service.

The Kennedy School of Missions was established in the spirit of the Edinburgh Conference. In this spirit Dr. Capen lived and worked. The School took its place in the Hartford Group of Schools organized for training for Christian service at home and abroad.

The objective of the School was to help the student to become sensitive to the cultural environment of the people among whom he worked. Basic in this is the knowledge of the language. The school was equipped to teach the literary languages of the large areas, and, as far as possible, the colloquial. French and Portuguese were taught to students planning to go to certain parts of Africa. All candidates had a course in Phonetics. This enabled them to acquire the spoken language of their field speedily and accurately. The sympathetic study of the culture and religion of the people awakened new attitudes in the students. They came to regard the old religion not merely as an obstacle to be overthrown, but as an expression of deep forces in the human heart which were to be sublimated and redirected to the service of our Lord. The knowledge thus attained was to be used to win the individual and to vitalize the social and economic life of the people.

Dean Capen regarded the school as the servant of the Church. The students on the campus represented many denominations. They became acquainted with denominational forms and peculiarities, but more important, they discovered the same spirit. They not only grew in tolerance, but developed a spirit of cooperation. Many of the former students are leaders in union religious movements in non-Christian lands.

The largest contribution of Dean Capen to the School and to the work of the missionary was his deep, quiet Christian character and life. He was not robust physically. His position demanded a large amount of hard work. But he knew how to husband his energies. His life was geared to the great goal. For several years

his work was done in weakness and suffering. The students and even his colleagues knew little of this. He never excused himself from any task which was related to the great goal. His marked quality was his spiritual integrity, which informed his mind, shone from his personality, and formed the climate of the School.

LEWIS HODOUS

Northfield, Mass.

✱ The Rev. Charles R. Watson, D.D. ✱

Dr. Charles R. Watson, who died at Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, January 10, 1948, was one of the founders of The American University at Cairo and its president from 1922 to 1945. He was born in Egypt of missionary parents and loved the land and the numerous varieties of people there.

Dr. Watson was himself an evangelical Christian in his beliefs and church allegiance, but he valued other types of Christian devotion which led to unselfish service and right character. Men of other faiths whose lives revealed similar principles received his respect and honor, his cooperation and friendship. But he had no time or tolerance for pretense, self-seeking and wrong-doing. He stood for God's truth, personal character and human service. He taught those ideals in the University he served for the sake of all the youth of Egypt and the Near East.

Dr. Watson was an able speaker and writer, as well as a careful administrator, endowed with vision, faith and energy. His contribution to Christian education in Egypt will be increasingly appreciated in the coming years.

E. E. C.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER
Union Theological Seminary Library

I: GENERAL

AN ARCHEOLOGIST LOOKS AT PALESTINE. Nelson Glueck. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. December, 1947. pp. 739-768).

A finely illustrated article.

GÉNÉRALITIÉS SUR L'ART MUSULMAN. Titus Burckhardt. (In *Études Traditionelles*, Paris. March, 1947. pp. 57-64).

Speculations on the character of Muslim art.

HANDSCHRIFTEN OSMANISCHER HISTORIKER IN ISTAMBUL. Ludwig Forrer. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. März, 1942. pp. 173-220).

A descriptive list of manuscripts.

ORIENTALIA IN GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA. Richard N. Frye. (In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. April-June, 1947. pp. 139-141).

A list of books published since 1940.

DIE QUELLEN DER SUAHELI-DICHTUNG. Ernst Dammann. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. März, 1942. pp. 250-268).

Poetry, not of Africa origin, stems in the main from Arabian sources.

THE SHOULDER ORNAMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LIONS. Helene J. Kantor. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. October, 1947. pp. 250-274).

Tells of the amazing spread of a small detail which has helped reconstruct part of the development of Near Eastern art.

II. ARABIA

THE YEMEN IN MODERN TREATY PATTERN. (In *American Perspective*, Washington, D. C. April, 1947. pp. 41-48).

Traces the country's international relations since World War I.

YEMEN—SOUTHERN ARABIA'S MOUNTAIN WONDERLAND. Harlan B. Clark. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. November, 1947. pp. 631-672).

Describes the author's trip from Aden to San'a via Hodeida.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

ACTIVITIES OF MUSLIMS IN MAURITIUS. H. Nahabu. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. June, 1947. pp. 190-196).

An account of the work of the Muslim Educational Society, founded by Maulana Abdulla Rasheed Nawab and of the Muslim Cultural Association, founded by Dr. Hassanjee Joomye.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER, June 1—August 31, 1947. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. October, 1947. pp. 432-448).

Comment and chronology.

- L'ISLAM AUX INDES. V. Courtois. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Lyon. 2e Trimestre 1947. pp. 107-115).
An historical summary.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

- THE PERSIAN SAGE. C. S. C. Williams. (In *The Church Quarterly Review*, London. October-December, 1947. pp. 48-58).
First installment of a study of Aphraat, or Aphraates, who lived in the 4th century A.D. and is known for his "Demonstrations," twenty-three in number.
- PHILOLOGIKA. H. Ritter. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. März, 1942. pp. 221-249). Continuation and end of a list of works on Maulānā Galāladdīn Rūmī and his circle.
- THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QUR'AN. Arthur Jeffery. (In the *Journal of the Middle East Society*, Jerusalem. Spring, 1947. pp. 35-49).
Traces Quranic texts through the old codices and the Codex of Uthman to the Hafs reading.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- AFGHANISTAN TODAY. Joel De Croze. (In the *Journal of the Institute of International Affairs*, New Delhi. January, 1947. pp. 29-49).
An important descriptive study.
- AMERICAN AVIATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. George A. Brownell. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. October, 1947. pp. 401-416).
An explanation of the actual work done and of the possibilities for development for Pan American Airways and Trans World Airline.
- LIFE IN BAGHDAD. Stewart Perowne. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1947. pp. 251-261).
Tells of the great changes going on in Iraq and of the necessary readjustment to the new conditions.
- LE MOUVEMENT NATIONAL KURDE EN 1946. Pierre Rondot. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Lyon. 2e Trimestre 1947. pp. 128-141).
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- THE WARRIOR PEOPLE OF DJEBEL DRUZE. N. N. Nimri. (In the *Journal of the Middle East Society*, Jerusalem. Spring, 1947. pp. 90-96).
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- THE VEIL OR THE "PARDAH." G. M. D. Sufi. (In the *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Bombay. March, 1947. pp. 268-278).
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VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

- THE AMERICAN POSITION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. William Reitzel. (In the *Yale Review*, New Haven. June, 1947. pp. 673-688).
An able analysis.

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Traces developments from the days of Midhat Pasha and Abdul Hamid II to the achievements under the Republic.

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The mutual distrust existing between the French and the Moroccans must be skillfully and patiently lessened so that a modern nation may emerge.

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The longing of Arab peoples to rid themselves of Western sovereignty is the reason for intense nationalistic feeling.

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A strong plea for Jews and Arabs to live side by side in peace and to really cooperate with one another.

THE PROBLEM OF THE ITALIAN COLONIES. C. Groves Haines. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. October, 1947. pp. 417-431).

Representing, as they do, strategic outposts for the control of North East Africa and the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, the colonies are vital elements in the advance of the Great Powers.

SOVIET POLICY IN TURKESTAN. Elizabeth Bacon. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. October, 1947. pp. 386-400).

An historical account from 1917.

TRUTHS ABOUT TURKEY. Walter Livingston Wright, Jr. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1948. pp. 349-359).

Our sincere support must be given to help Turkey to preserve her liberties and to develop democracy.

VII. INDIA

HINDU-MOSLEM CONFLICT IN INDIA. David G. Mandelbaum. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. October, 1947. pp. 369-385).

Discusses the separation from Great Britain and the creation of the two new dominions.

INDIA: THE DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE. (In *The Round Table*, London. December, 1947. pp. 467-475).

Considers the "tragedy of the Punjab," the "hesitant princes" and other difficulties arising from the division of India and the removal of British influence.

LE PAKISTAN. Pierre Rondot. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Lyon. 1er Trimestre, 1947. pp. 29-60).

Surveys the movement in all its phases.

THE TWO NEW DOMINIONS AND TREATY RELATIONS. Sir Henry Twynam. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1948. pp. 15-27).

A suggestion for a treaty of perpetual alliance and friendship.